Musnad Salman Farisi ?

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SALMĀN PĀK
AND THE SPIRITUAL BEGINNINGS OF IRANIAN ISLĀM

BY
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Umm-i
Kitab

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PREFACE

There are two '*Ahadnāmas* or Charters written in Arabic, one of which contains exhortations of the Prophet Muḥammad to the Muslims written on red leather by his son-in-law, Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, himself, whereas the other contains exhortations of Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the Muslims written by his son Imām Ḥusain b. 'Alī. The first '*Ahadnāma* was written in favour of Mahdī Farrukh b. Shakhsān, the brother of Salmān al-Fārisī, in the month of Rajab, 9 A. H., and the second was in favour of a certain Bahrāmshādh b. Kherādars and written in the month of Rajab, 39 A. H. According to these '*Ahadnāmas*, the Prophet Muḥammad and then 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had laid on the Muslims the sacred duty to protect the brother of Salmān and his descendants and their posterity and Bahrāmshādh and his descendants and their posterity from the imposition of the poll-tax (*jaziya*) and such other taxes and inequities and oppressions on the part the Muslims. The original Arabic texts of these two '*Ahadnāmas* were published with their Persian and Gujarati translations and notes by Seth Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy in a Gujarati magazin, entitled *Taqrīyat i Dīn i Māzdiyasnān*' in 1221 Anno Yazdajardi, corresponding to 1851 A. D.

After more than seventy years, the late Gushtasp Kaikhusru Nariman (G. K. N.) published in 1925 the original Arabic texts of these two '*Ahadnāmas*, and that of the third '*Ahadnāma* written in favour of the descendants of Ādarbād Mārispand, as well of their posterity by Imām Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the month of Rajab 39 A. H., with their English translations and a preface in his *The Ahad Nāmeh* (The Marker Literary Series for Persia, No. 1), Bombay 1925. Nariman was a staunch protagonist of the Arab culture and the tolerant spirit of the Khalifs, shown especially to those possessing a revealed book, *i.e.* to the Jews, the Christians, and also to the Zoroastrians. He says in the preface: "As a matter of fact, the manifest decadence of Zoroastrians of Persia dates not from the Arabs but from the Afghan invasion" (p. VI). Nariman frankly doubts the genuineness of these '*Ahadnāmas*, as, according to him, neither the language of the original Arabic nor its Persian version which is probably made in India support the assumption of their unquestioned authenticity, but still remarks that "They demonstrate a fact of supreme importance. They are witnesses to the spirit of tolerance of early Islām and of the protection which it accorded to the Ahl-i-Kitāb among whom the Zoroastrians were included. If these are spurious, there are dozens of others which are genuine. If the present text of the documents is doubtful and if the grants do not actually proceed from the exalted personages in whose names they are perpetuated, they positively reflect the spirit, the trend of thought and broad religious outlook, the mentality of the early Islamic subjugators of Persia. Their tenor, let me repeat, is reinforced by extant covenants preserved in older annals whose authors, like Belādhorī and Ṭabarī, were of Irānian origin and the former of whom was familiar with Pahlavi." (pp. IX-X).

The supposed originals of the '*Ahadnāmas* or their copies, alleged to have been written by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and by Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, are written in the Nasta'līq characters, like the one presented by the late Mr. Nanabhai Mama to the K. R.Cama Oriental Institute, and like another granted to the Jews and alleged to have been written also by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and preserved in the National Library of Teheran. Now, it is well known that in the time of 'Alī and Ḥusain, *i.e.* in the first century of the Hijra, Kūfic was the current script, as it is proved by copies of the Qur'ān written by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib preserved in the National Library of Teheran and in the Library of the Museum of Kabul. The legends on the coinage of the Umaiyad and 'Abbasid Khalīfs are found only in the Kūfic script up to the middle of the seventh century of the Hijra.

The probable date of the '*Ahadnāma* may be placed at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third century of Hijra, *i.e.* in the reign of Khalīf Ma'mūn, 198-217 A. H. The Pahlavi text *Mātīkān i Gajastak Abālīsh* mentions a religious discussion held in his court between the Zoroastrian High Priest of the time and Abālīsh.

The historicity of Salmān Fārisī is proved beyond doubt by a long and very important *ḥadīth* written in Arabic called *Khabar Salmān*. It saw during a period of twenty-five years 150-175 A. H. seven to eight recensions. Prof. Louis Massignon of the Collège de France, Paris, delivered a lecture before the Société des Études Iraniennes at the Musée Guimet, Paris, on May 30, 1933, on *Salmān Pāk et les Prémices Spirituelles de l'Islam*. It was published by the Société des Études Iraniennes et de l'Art Persan of Paris in 1938. I translated this interesting pamphlet into English for the late Mr. Jamshedji Edulji Saklatvala on getting the necessary permission of Prof. Massignon, as early as in 1938. But owing to certain serious misunderstanding with Mr. Saklatvala, I withheld its publication *sine die*. I published, however, its synopsis in Gujarati in 1941 in the Navroz Number of the Gujarati Weekly *Rāst Rāhbar*, which has stopped its publication some years ago. Prof. Massignon whom I met in Teheran in April 1954 on the occasion of the Millenary of Abū Sīnā told me to publish my translation of *Salmān Pāk* as early as possible incorporating in it a few additions and corrections which he communicated to me by post last December. Thus the work is brought up to date.

Prof. Massignon has based his work on Salmān Pāk on a long and very important *ḥadīth* called *Khabar Salmān*, and on all other available manuscript materials and on printed works of eastern and western scholars of repute. His opinion on this subject of Salmān Fārisī should, therefore, be considered as the most important and trustworthy. He has given in the Appendix II (pp. 47-52) a complete list of his sources.

The following is a synopsis of Salmān Pāk :-

1. Salmān was the first Irānian to accept Islām. Among other non-Arab converts, there were Bilāl the Abyssinian and Ṣuhaib the Greek. These three were

the first disciples and companions of the Prophet. This tradition is current among the Shī'as and the Sunnīs alike.

2. The above mentioned seven to eight recensions of the *ḥadīth* on Salmān are not unanimous on the birth-place of Salmān and his youthful activities. It is certain that he was born in the province of Fārs in Irān. Some say that he was descended from a noble family of *asāvira* or cavalrymen -chevaliers, whereas, according to others, he was born in a *dihqān* family of Jaiy near Iṣfahān. Again, some give Rām-Hormuz as his birth-place, and some others are in favour of Arjan near Kāzarūn. They are not unanimous also about his Irānian name; according to some, he was called Māhbih b. Būdkhashān, whereas others called him Rūzbih b. Marzubān. It should be noted here that the name Salmān is of Aramaean origin.

It is said that Salmān being of mystic trend of mind became one day Christian after listening to a service in a church or perhaps by persuasion of a monk. Then with the intention of leading an ascetic life, he abstained from meat immolated by Zoroastrians for ceremony and from wine, and even left his paternal house, and wandered through Palestine, Syria, 'Irāq and Egypt in search of a master. During his sojourn in Alexandria of Egypt, hearing that a prophet would appear shortly in the land of Taimā', he left the city immediately for Taimā', but was made a prisoner by the Beduins and was sold as a slave. It is said that on hearing about Muḥammad, he went to Mecca or according to some to Qubā' near Madīna. He recognised in Muḥammad the three signs of prophetship, *viz.*, 1. Muḥammad's abstinence from the *ṣadaqa* or food over which the whole Muslim community had its right, 2. his partaking only of the *hadīya* which was offered to him for his personal use, and 3. his bearing on the right shoulder the Seal of the Prophets which was nothing else but a fleshy excrescence like a wart. Being convinced by these signs, Salmān accepted Muḥammad as the Prophet. His new coreligionists freed him from slavery by paying as his ransom 360 transplanted suckers of date-palms and 40 oques of gold. A difficulty arose as to whom should Salmān belong, of course, to the Muslim community who had subscribed to his ransom. But still he is spoken of as the freed man of the Prophet himself, as Muḥammad is said to have pronounced after the War of the Ditch in 5 A. H., according to a Sunnī tradition, the sentence *Salmān minnā Ahl al-Bait*, *i.e.* Salmān is one of us, we the people of the House. Once ransomed, Salmān, a foreigner and non-Arab, was made to participate in the rite of fraternisation which bound the *muhājirūn* one by one to their hosts the *Anṣārs*. The death of Salmān took place at Madā'in, according to Prof. Massignon, some time between 20 and 28 A. H. His small tomb is found lying close at the feet of the *Tāq-i-Kisrā* to its north-west, after leaving the village of Hudhaifa, situated on the left bank of the Tigris. The village is named after Ḥudhaifa who was one of the *Anṣārs* or Helpers of the Prophet and a friend of Salmān.

3. There is only one reference to the close relations between Muḥammad the Prophet and Salmān, *viz.* that Salmān advised Muḥammad to dig a *khandaq* or a moat or ditch and protected by it to fight the Meccan enemies. Now, *khandaq*

is an Arabicised Persian word meaning " moat " whose use and importance Salmān being a Persian knew full well.

4. In the first century of the Hijra, the Shī'ite extremists interpreted the sentence *Salmān minnā Ahl al-Bait* as meaning that Salmān had his share in the divine inspiration of the Prophet. The Ismā'īlites believe even to-day that ever since the Prophet received the divine inspirations as embodied in the Qur'ān, Salmān had close relations with the Prophet. They go even to the extreme limit and assert that the angel Jibrī'īl who brought down from Allāh the *āyāt* of the Qur'ān was Salmān himself. And some Shī'ite extremists believe that with 'Alī and Muḥammad, Salmān forms a holy triad.

5. The Zaidite *ḥadīths*, before the period of 113 and 121 A. H., mention that after the election of Abū Bakr as the Khalīf, Salmān espoused openly the cause of 'Alī by pronouncing the cryptic words *kardīd o nakardīd, i.e.* " you have made (the election of Abū Bakr) and you have not made (the election of 'Alī appointed by the Prophet as his successor) ". It is said that Salmān remained till his death a staunch friend of the 'Alīides and always protected their interests.

6. It is evident from this synopsis of the long *ḥadīth* about Salmān that there is in it no mention of Salmān as Dastūr or High Priest of the Zoroastrians, or of his identity with a Dastūr Dīnyār, or of his brother Mahdī Farrukh b. Shakhsān. Incidentally it may be noted that the name Dīnyār means " the friend of the religion." Its use as a proper name among the Zoroastrians is not attested in Sassanian and early post-Sassanian times. As it is said above, only the Ismā'īlites believe in the identity of Jibrī'īl and Salmān, and hence that it was Salmān who inspired to Muḥammad the Qur'ān as Allāh's messenger.

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Bombay, 17th March, 1933.

INTRODUCTION

MADĀ'IN AND KŪFA; HOW TO ENTER UPON THE STUDY OF SALMĀN.

The solitary arch of the palace of Ctesiphon, which was the centuries old capital and the successor of Babylon, emerges full thirty metres high on the eastern bank of the Tigris, in one of the curves of its meanderings, down stream from Baghdād. It is the Ṭāq-i-Kisrā, " the vaulted arch of Chosroes." The small tomb of Salmān the Pure, Salmān Pāk, is found lying close at its feet to the north-west, after leaving the village of Ḥudhaifa.[1] A German expedition undertook excavations of these ruin-fields. I passed by it three times, in 1907, in 1908 and in 1927. I was surprised by the historical contrast of these two monuments, the lofty arch and the hidden grave. I undertook, therefore, to do researches into the legend and into the true personality of Salmān —researches of which I want to show to-day the general orientation and describe the first soundings.[2]

The two sister-cities, Ctesiphon on the east and Seleucia on the west, which have, about two thousand years ago, succeeded here two Chaldaean cities, Upi and Akshak, bore in the history of Islām one unique name Madā'in. Streck has pointed out[3] that particular stress has not yet been laid on the importance of the capture of Madā'in in 15 A. H., corresponding to 636 A. D., for the young Muslim State. This city was the capital of the whole Persian East. It was as great in civilization as its Byzantine rival, Constantinople, which Islām could capture only eight centuries later. Like it and like Rome, Madā'in had seven boroughs,—on the west, Darzījān, Baḥrasīr, Jundisābūr, (Kōkè, towards Muzlam Sābāṭ), joining the Nahr al-Malik—on the east, Asfānabr, Rūmīya, and probably Nūniyafādh and Kurdafādh. It was the unique bridge-head to Īrān and to the Asian plateau (Upper Asia ?). It was the administrative centre of the Sassanian Empire, the home of the classical Pahlavi dialect, the religious centre of the Nestorian and Manichaean patriarchates, and of the Jewish exilarchate, the capital of the banking business and of oriental sciences ; the coins minted here bear as the mint-mark only " Babā "

1. The name of a companion of the Prophet, and friend of Salmān, who was buried there. (The name is locally pronounced : Ḥudaitha). His remains are now transferred to the tomb of Salmān (northern room, together with Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī : the three heirs of the Prophet's " secret."

2. Lecture given under the auspices of the Société des Études Iraniennes at the Musée Guimet on the 30th May 1933.

3. Ap. *Enzykl. des Islams*, 1928, Bd. III, 80-87.

or " al-Bāb," *i.e.* " the Sublime Porte "[4], just as Istanbul will be after it the Ottoman " Sublime Porte," and just as before it Babylon, its predecessor, at present in ruins, had been " Babel," i.e. " the Divine Porte."

Madā'in became immediately afterwards the " threshold " or rather the " Sublime Porte " of Persian splendours for the conquering Arabs, who had remained faithful to their native clime, shut up in their camp of Kūfa, on the outskirts of the desert. More than a hundred years after the foundation of Baghdād, Madā'in fell into decline. In the meanwhile, it nourished Kūfa not only with its treasures and with its harvests, but also with its crafts and with its ways of thinking, which it communicated to the Arab clans of Kūfa by introducing among them their Īrānian " clients " who had now become Muslims. And, Salmān, the first Persian who had come over to the Arab Islām, is said to have returned before his death to Madā'in where his humble tomb recalls to Shī'ite pilgrims, who come to pray there, his double destiny, symbolic of the precursor and spiritual initiator, of the " Sublime Porte," " al-Bāb," which he merited on account of his faithfulness as a friend, in the rising Islām : " that I may live and die, O faithful friend like thee,...(thou) who hast not betrayed."[5]

* * *

The history of the first century of the Hijra is still only imperfectly established. The chronological sketch presents several contradictions, above all for the years 36-37 A. H., which the paucity of independent foreign sources does not help us to solve. And when we pass on to the study of biographies, just as it is here the case with that of Salmān, it crumbles to dust in our hands like a dune crumbling to minute grains of sand. They are nothing else but detached and fragmentary anecdotes, the ḥadīths attributed to such and such a direct witness connected by a more or less trustworthy " chain " of intermediate agents ; their contents conceal under naïve appearances very often intentional deformations and folkloric borrowings, in which, just as Wellhausen has remarked, we have not got a constant criterion to follow (when there is no principal source as guide of which the degree of credibility has been fixed), —and where we are reduced to have recourse to certain indirect methods of approximation.

Wellhausen, Goldziher and Lammens have taken advantage of the geographical division of the ḥadīths into Madīnite, 'Irāqian and Syrian schools, proportioning the degree of credibility to every one of them according to the political import for them of the events which they narrate. Caetani, Levi della Vida and Buhl have, with personal nuances, followed the same method.

This geographical division of the ḥadīths, suggested by Ibn Sa'd, seems to invite a subdivision for the 'Irāqian school : Baṣra differentiated from Kūfa very early.

4. The " Real Cross " of the Christians, taken away from Jerusalem, was kept there as trophy for fifteen years from 614 to 629 A. D.

5. The prayer of the zuwārs according to Majlisī, *Biḥār*, XXV, 299.

What concerns the political division into ḥadīths favourable to the Umaiyads and those favourable to the 'Alīides, which is valid only globaly and indifferently for one whole century (years 37-132 A. H.), — a recourse to heresiographical examination of ḥadīths permits us to notice some stages. This fact we owe to a division into Sunnite ḥadīths (first of all Murji'ya), Zaidite ḥadīths and ḥadīths of other Imāmite sects. These three categories are entirely distinct ; the Sunnite ḥadīths do not cease to enrich themselves, almost unconsciously, even after the third century, with foreign elements, whereas the Zaidite ḥadīths, and above all, the Imāmite ḥadīths stop their collections even from the first generation of their followers. They are " stopped ", and they provide, therefore, a *terminus ad quem* for their common ḥadīths, and a *terminus a quo* for certain of their own ḥadīths. We shall see this for those ḥadīths which are relating to Salmān.

For the 'Irāqian school of Kūfa which interests us here the most, and which comprises all Zaidite and Imāmite traditionalists, we can date back still further than the period reached, thanks to the heresiographical criterion, and we can rejoin the primitive period of the supremacy of the *buyutāt al-A'rāb* in the *miṣr* of this turbulent *jund* (years 14-37 A. H.) : by classifying the rāwīs according to their clans and their tribal alliances (aḥlāf) which Islām was not able to extirpate immediately, and where the connection of the mawālīs was moulded in the beginning. We were thus able to extricate the rôle of the 'Abd al-Qais in the biography of Salmān.

In our opinion, the legend of Salmān contains archaic elements which the study of the heresies on the one hand and of the tribal alliances on the other, permits us to isolate and to date. Thereby, it invalidates in many respects the strong criticism of Horovitz, and leads us to strengthen the historicity of the person of Salmān.[6]

SUMMARY

I. Résumé of the classical bibliography of Salmān ; statement and examination of the critical theory of Horovitz.

II. Analysis of the prologue on the conversion ; of the ḥadīth " Salmān minnā Ahl al-Bait " ; —of the sentence " kardīd o nakardīd."

III. Death of Salmān at Madā'in ; presumptions of his coming to 'Irāq as ḥalīf of 'Abd al-Qais ; the Salmānian isnād.

IV. Historical part which Salmān played before Muḥammad with reference to the redaction of the Qur'ān ; the subsequent part which he played before 'Alī. The speculations of the Shī'ite gnosticism on the Sīn in relation to the Mīm and to the 'Ain.—Conclusions.

V. Appendices : 1. Translation of the five unpublished texts on the extremist sects called " Salmānīya " or " Sīnīya." —2. Informations about the sources.

6. In the original French text of " Salmān Pāk ", the transcriptions of the Arabic names and words, are often misprinted. I have followed in their corrections the system adopted in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain and Ireland.

I

Résumé of the classical bibliography; statement and examination of the critical theory of Horovitz.

The classical tradition, common to Sunnism and Shī'ism, classes Salmān the Persian in a place quite particular among the principal companions of the Prophet. He is one of the three non-Arab converts (sābiqūn), the other two being Ṣuhaib the Greek and Bilāl the Abyssinian. And the traditional physiognomy of this "foreigner" ('ajamī) offers particularly pronounced traits.

Salmān who was born in Īrān was attracted to Christianity by a pronounced ascetic inclination. He went from teacher to teacher and from city to city, *viz.*, Jaiy, Shām, Mawṣil, Naṣībīn, 'Amūriya, thereby exposing himself to exile and slavery. He did this not merely in order to find a stricter rule of life and a rigorous monotheism sought for by other ḥanīfs[7], but in order to meet a Messenger of God, who was described to him, and whom he found at last in the person of Muḥammad. Salmān who was brought into close contact with the latter, advises him to fight the War of the Ditch. He remained after the death of the Prophet a faithful friend of his family, *i.e.* of the 'Alīides, and defender of their legitimate, but ignored rights up to his death which occurred at Madā'in in Mesopotamia.

At first sight, the documentation on the life of Salmān seems to be heterogeneous. First of all, a long continuous and autobiographical narrative, a prologue on the historical account of his conversion. Then, for the remainder of his life, rare and separate landmarks, around two essential assertions, close connection with the family of the Prophet (ḥadīth: minnā Ahl al-Bait), and the political defence of the legitimacy (the sentence "kardīd o nakardīd"). On considering it more closely, other difficulties spring up, which have been already pointed out by several Muslim authors, above all Shī'ite authors, who had proposed solutions for them somewhat very much reconciling. On the other hand, as early as during the years 1909-13, Clement Huart, who had published three recensions of the "prologue," inferred its non-historicity, but he defended the genuineness of the presence of Salmān in the War of the Ditch. In 1922, Horovitz undertook in a sober, compact and cutting monograph to prove that the legend of Salmān was nothing but a myth, originated from an etymological inquiry, concerning precisely the word "*Ditch*" *khandaq*: He showed himself therein an adept of the theory which, as Max Müller says, discovers the origin of a myth in "a disease of the speech." According to him, a mere name "Salmān" figured at first in inexact lists, which the Muslim apologetics tried to dress up, – lists of Jewish and Christian "kitābīyūn witnesses" who rendered homage to the commencing mission of the Prophet. This name, vaguely attributed to a Persian, served to embellish the description of the War of the Ditch (khandaq). The word khandaq, though Arabicized early, is of Īrānian origin. It launched the idea of making this Salmān "Fārisī," about whom nothing was known, a Persian

7. With whom Maqdisī (*Bad'*, V, 127) classes him.

engineer, an ex-Mazdean convert, and an intimate councillor of Muḥammad, and as such predisposed to be inscribed on the Shī'ite list of the first defenders of the 'Alīides. Starting from this hypothesis, Horovitz sees in other biographical exactitudes about Salmān nothing else but the consequences of this etymological myth. If he is mentioned among those who took part in the rite of fraternisation, it was only in order to consolidate his position as ṣaḥābī, if he is mentioned among the combatants of 'Irāq at Qādisīya, Madā'in, Kūfa and Balanjar, it is in his quality of a Persian. What concerns his supposed close connection with the family of the Prophet, his adoption attested by the amount of his pension received under 'Umar, and his intervention in favour of 'Alī in the year 11 A. H., these are Shī'ite additions to the initial etymological theme. Thus there is nothing sure in this biography but the name "Salmān," which is, moreover, an Arabic word, and a well-known personal name[8], for which, first of all a kunya[9] was invented (without thinking that a mawlā had perhaps no right to it), then, still later, an earlier Persian personal name. It is the imagination of the Persians who had become Muslims by conversion which is responsible for this whole structure of details.

Let us formulate, first of all, some objections of general order against this historical and nominalist criticism:

1. The mythical, or better gnostic, interpretation of a personality does not substitute for a human authentic reality a posthumous and unreal phantom, it expresses a social necessity of totalitarian explanation, a reaction often almost instantaneous and contemporaneous with the human reality which provokes it; and the paradoxical translation which it attempts is *a priori* neither illegitimate nor inadmissible.

2. An etymological myth would not come into being in a given civilisation except in a certain stage of grammatical development, and the type of Salmān appears to have been formed in the Arabic Islām before this stage.

3. It is true that the legend of Salmān is amplified and preserved, thanks to the devotion of Īrānian Muslims. But it is in Arabic that it was first constituted and defined at Kūfa; and it is because the memory of the Persian client of the Prophet persisted that it imposed itself little by little on the popular Īrānian devotion. It was not by an unconscious urge of racial revenge among the newly Islāmised Persians that the type of Salmān was invented.

Let us pass to the details.

The criticism of Horovitz could not tackle, and for a very good reason, the fundamental heterogeneity of the coupling "Salmān + al Fārisī": coupling of an

8. Which the Prophet is said to have given him.—The "yawm Salmān" of the pre-Islamic Arabs refers to the Himyarite eponym of a well between Kūfa and Baṣra (YQ., III, 121); this personal name is the name of a clan among the Yemenites, Murād, Hamdān and Haiy of Najrān (Hamdānī, *Jazīra*, s. v.); the poet Ibn Salmān was one of the abnās (Persian settlers) of Yemen. At least four ṣaḥābas and three tābi'ūns of this name are quoted. *Cf.* A Christian convent of this name near Damascus.

9. Abū 'Abd Allāh.

Arabic personal name (with an Aramaean colouring) with an ethnicon of Irānian extraction. It is a too obvious peculiarity that it could have been forged so early.

Whereas other "witnesses," kitābiyūn or not, whom the tradition groups around the Prophet, Baḥīra-Sergios[10], Tamīm Dārī and others, are none other than elusive and suspicious silhouettes, we have at last two solid chains which retain the physiognomy of Salmān in the historical frame of the Mushājarāts[11]: the high antiquity of the discussions between the Shī'ite sects at Kūfa on the religious part played by him before the Prophet and 'Alī, and the attempt at a splitting[12] of his personality (accepted by Bukhārī, but rejected by Ibn Ḥibbān) into a "Salmān Juhanī Iṣfahānī," the Sunnite rāwī of the Medinese school and the Salmān (Qurazī Iṣfahānī) with Shī'ite acquaintances of the school of Kūfa and Madā'in. Further, let us mention, for memory, the claims laid in the beginning of the third century of the Hijra by the so-called descendants of the brother[13] or of the daughters of Salmān[14], and the antiquity of the pilgrimage to his tomb at Madā'in.

On many points of details, on the other hand, the criticism of Horovitz seems convincing. We shall find them further below.

Ivanov, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the *Umm al-kitāb*, in which the Gnostic legend of Salmān occupies such an important place, has taken up again (in an independent manner) the hypothesis of Horovitz on the Irānian colouring of this legend in a more admissible and more varied form. It is no more a question of initial invention but of retouchings, which are not racial but religious, and of Manichaean origin.

Let us state it precisely. It is not possible to attribute to Irānian cultural influence the invention itself of the type of Salmān at Kūfa, where the names of

10. F. Nau, ap. *Muséon*, XLIII (1930), 237-240.

11. Or "legal disputes among the Ṣaḥābas" (cf. Ukbarī, in Massignon's *Recueil*, 1929, p. 220, l. 12, where according to *Qur.* IV, 68, we should read sh-j-r, and not s-kh-r). *Cf.* Ibn Taimiya, *Minhāj*, III, 19.

12. Mizzī, *l. c.*, 299 a; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, Np. 3779; Khazrajī, *Khulāṣa*, s. v.

13. Māhbendādh, head of the clan of B. Farrūkh (AN, 4 cf. nisba "Māfarrukhī"); in the time of Ma'mūn, his descendant of the fourth generation, the grandson of Ghassān b. Zādhān, showed a forged charter of fiscal immunity: *'Ahd namé*, ed. Bombay 1851, 36 pp., copy owed to the late Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla's courtesy, who informed me that the Parsi tradition identifies Salmān with "Dastūrān Dastūr" Dīnyār, banished by Nōshīrwān, (copied from the Najrānian treaty: AN, 52; N. 44-45); he lived at Arjan near Kāzarūn* (*cf. Fārsnāma Nāṣirī*, II, 249, 288, which make the ṣūfī Abū Isḥāq Kāzarūnī, who died in 426 A. H., one of the first converts of this line which had remained Mazdian). On the spiritual nisba of Mu'aiyad Salmānī, cf. Hamdānī, *JRAS.*, 1932, 129.

* Dasht-i-Arjan, the Valley of the Almond trees, is the legendary place where Salmān was rescued from a lion by 'Alī's deity; cf. Tabarsī, *Nafas*, 28, 'Abd ul-Bāqī', *Melamiler*, 60, no. 2, and Massignon's *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 418, where Salmān is identified with Ḥallāj.

14. Two daughters in Egypt, one in Iṣfahān, who was married; according to Quṭn b. Ibrāhīm (died in 261 A. H.) who also knew, through Wahb, the great-grandson of the "son of Salmān, 'Abd Allāh," an apocryphal charter of the mukātaba (KH. I, 170); in 530 A. H., a wā'iẓ of Asadābād said that he was descended (N., 142) from Salmān, who is said to have married a Kindite mawlā (Buqaira, IS; or Safwa, according to Shūshtarī). But the primitive tradition, maintained by the Qalandarīyas, asserted that Salmān died not only a bachelor, but an asexual (N., 143).

streets had not undergone the beginning of Irānisation earlier than in 132 A. H., at the time of the conquest by the Khorāsānian army of the 'Abbāsids, and where the two insurrections of the *mawālī* in 43 A. H. and in 67 A. H. had the Arab staffs. (Let us not forget that the Persian language was revived in a literary form, thanks to the Shu'ūbīyas, only in the third century of the Hijra). But, with the conversion of the Ḥamrās, the Persian garisons (already Arabicised at Ḥīra and in Yemen) in 14-17 A. H., their installation in Kūfa, Baṣra (and probably Madā'in), their reinforcement by the half-breeds, the sons of Persian captives taken at 'Ain al-Tamr and at Jalūlā (from 12 to 17 A. H.), who when they had grown up to manhood formed a hybrid milieu, above all, at Kūfa, where with the contact of the rising Islām, which renovated the Abrahamic monotheism, just as of old with the contact of the rising Christianity in Galilee, an intellectual effervescence was produced, which is called the Gnosis[15]. The Gnosis in Christianity was Samaritan and Greek in its origin, whereas in Islām it was Manichaean in origin, *i.e.* Aramaean and Irānian. In both these cases, it is not the question of an attempt at rational reconciliation between the philosophy of sciences and theology, which is a tardy matter, but that of a fervent acceptation of a new and supernatural faith by a milieu of old culture, which with the light of the new belief contemplates the visible universe through the prism lit up by its old myths[16].

It is not here the question either of outlining the formation of this Gnosis or of explaining the fundamental part which Shī'ism has played in it or the tacit borrowings which Sunnism has made from it,—from the 'aql awwal up to the nūr muḥammadīya, but only that of ascertaining with Ivanov that a little of the physiognomy of Khurmuzta, the Primordial Man of the oriental Manichaeans is projected on that of the historical Salmān in that hybrid milieu of the Ḥamrās of Kūfa to whom their Arab aḥlāfs, both Tamīmites and 'Abdites, have made Salmān known and liked.

II

Analysis of the "prologue" (autobiographical narrative about his conversion).

The "prologue" or Khabar Salmān is an exceptionally long ḥadīth, if we compare it with analogous narratives ascribed to other Ṣaḥābas, and pretty old, if we think that about 150-175 A. H., it was already published in seven or eight distinct recensions: those of Abū Isḥāq Sābi'ī (died in 127 A. H.; abbreviation *A*), of Ismā'īl Suddī (died in 127 A. H.; abbreviation *B*), of 'Ubaid Muktib (died in 140 A. H. ? *C*), of Ibn Isḥāq (died in 150 A. H.; *D*), of 'Abd al-Malik Khath'amī (died

15. Blochet (*RSO*, II) proposed the term "gnosis" for all hermetic Perso-Muslim esoterism; it would be better to limit its application.

16. Who became in Kūfa the "Dositheus" of this Precursor? We can think of Rushaid Hajarī, but we have few details about him, and Salmān is connected with him only by one isnād, and by his rôle of Bāb (Nuṣairīs). The clearly Irānian elements of the legend of Salmān are later: solar festivals (nawrūz, mihirjān: Nuṣairīs), auspicious and inauspicious days of the solar month (N., 136).

in 180 A. H.; *E*), of Saiyār 'Anazī (died in 199 A. H.; *F*) and of 'Alī b. Mahziyār (died in 210 A. H.; *G*)[17].

Native of Īrān, born of a family distinguished among the asāwira of Fārs (A, B)[18], or among the dahāqin of Jaiy near Iṣfahān (C, D, F), (Salmān) born at Rāmhormuz (according to 'Awf A'rābī, died in 146 A. H.)[19], or at Arjan near Kāzarūn, brought up in Mazdaism[20] under the name of Māhbih b. Būdkhashān (according to Ibn Manda)[21] or Rūzbih b. Marzubān[22], he becomes a Christian after a walk, visit or hunt (with a prince: B), where he had listened wth admiration either to the liturgy in a church or to exhortations of a hermit in a cavern[23]. Having decided to live as a Christian ascetic (*dairānī*), to abstain from meat immolated by the Mazdeans[24] (or killed after evil treatment, G) and from wine, Salmān leaves his country and wanders from town to town in order to live with masters in asceticism. These towns are: either X-Ḥimṣ-Jerusalem (A), or Shām-Mawṣil-Naṣībīn-'Amūriya (D, E), or Antiochia-Alexandria (G). He leaves the last named town on hearing about the imminent advent of a prophet "in the land of Teimā'" (A). His guides, the nomads (A'rāb, A; of Kalb, B, D state precisely) betray him, and sell him as a slave, either first in Wādī'l-Qurā (to a Jew: D), or thereupon in Yathrib (before or after 1 A. H.) to a Jew of the B. Quraiẓa ('Uthmān b. al-Ashhal)[25], or to a woman (after this Jew) of the tribe of Juhaina (B) or of Sulaim (G) or of the Anṣār (: Khalīsa, daughter of a ḥalīf of the B. Najjār) whose vineyard he takes care of[26]. Hearing the people talk about Muḥammad, he goes to find him either in Mecca, guided by an old woman of Iṣfahān[27], or in Qubā' (near Madīna). He discovers in him the three personal signs which he was looking for, *viz.* 1. refusal of the simony (appropriating for his own personal meal the gifts received in his alms-bag, destined for revictualling of his community = *ṣadaqa*), 2. acceptance for his personal meal strictly private offerings (*hadya*), and 3. the presence of the prophetic seal — a fleshy growth on the right shoulder. The narrative ends with the mukātaba: Salmān is ransomed at the price of 360 transplanted suckers of date-palms and of 40 oques of gold; his new

17. *A.* Ḥāfiẓ Iṣfahānī, 75*a* (primitive recension ?) and Ibn Sa'd, IV-1, 58 (diluted; transl. Huart, I, 8-10); *B.* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 2 ,44; transl. Huart, II, 5-9, *C.* AN. 50 and Mizzī, *l. c.*—*D.* KH, I, 164-169; var. ap. N. 12; transl. Huart, I, 3-8. *E.* ed. Tall Ukbarī, ap. N.; 24.—*F.* ed. Ibn Manda, ap. AN, 50-51, and Mizzī, *l. c.*—*G.* extr. ap. Ibn Bābawaih, *Ghaiba*, 96-99.

18. Of Sābūr (Ṭabarī, I, 1779); from Kayān near Quhāb (Māfarrūkhī, *Tarikh i Iṣfahān*).

19. Ḥāfiẓ Iṣf., *l. c.*

20. Or miraculously monotheist from birth (Thorning, 86).

21. Mizzī, *l. c.*

22. The Nuṣairīs; already Ibn Bābawaih gives him this personal name ("good day"; "māhbih" = "good month").

23. It is not the question of the word "Paraclete": the archaism is to be noted. The secret simony of his first master reminds us of Turmeda.

24. Huart, who wonders at it, forgets that Islām laid down this rule; Buhl remembers it, at the time of Salmān's entry in Baḥrain (Abū Yusūf, *Kharāj*, transl. Fagnan, 198-200; IS, I-2, 19, l. 8).

25. AN. 52.

26. Kāzarūnī (died in 758, A. H. ap. *Muntaqā*: N. 23); Thorning, 87; Khasībī has made of her a treacherous Jewess (N. 23).

27. AN. 76.

coreligionists contributed to his ransom (Sa'd b. 'Ubāda is said to have furnished 60 suckers of date-palms.).

On comparing the seven recensions of this prologue, we see that while generally respecting the rough scheme of the framing, slight, but very clever, alterations are sufficient to change here and there the import of certain episodes; the enumeration of teachers in asceticism (their number increased from three to ten) is sometimes understood as a hierarchical gradation bringing Salmān in direct contact either with the waṣī of Jesus or with Jesus himself (in a sudden appearance at Madīna), — at others as filling up the interval (of "250" to "500" years) which elapsed between Jesus and Muḥammad, thus making Salmān a macrobite contemporaneous with both. The offering of a meal to Muḥammad by a slave (raqīq or qanī)[28] was valid; it is either the produce of the sale of twigs gathered or of the drachms saved, or of the ripe and gleaned dates. The problem of the salvation of the soul of the last teacher of Salmān in asceticism is decided positively by Suddī and Khath'amī (B, E), and negatively by Sābi'ī (A). The only common element, which had remained intact in all recensions (without speaking of the seal), is the antithesis hadiya-ṣadaqa. Though very interesting in itself by its archaism, it is perhaps nothing else but an outline of ascetic protestations of Abū Dharr against 'Uthmān. It ignores at all events the "real" meaning which the word ṣadaqa had already acquired under 'Uthmān, and in the legal action taken up among the 'Alīides[29] which had greatly embarrassed many a Shī'ite commentator[30].

Once ransomed, how could Salmān, a foreigner and non-Arab, have been admitted into the new community of Madīna? Ransomed by a collectivity or a group, he ought to have been collective or common freed man of those who had contributed to his ransom. And yet he is mentioned later on as a personal freed slave[31] of or freed slave belonging only to the Prophet. In order to solve this difficulty, he was made to participate in the rite of fraternisation (muwākha) which bound before Badr the Muhājirūn, one by one, to their hosts, the Anṣārs. Of whom does he become a "brother"?

1. Of Abū'l-Dardā' 'Uwaimir, downright an Anṣārī[32], or of Ḥudhaifa, a muhājir ḥalīf of the Anṣārs, who had decided for the Anṣārs[33]. In both these cases, Salmān is considered to be classed as a Muhājir, and therefore, as having

28. N. 17, 22.

29. The hadya (above all the fai') is noble, the ṣadaqa is plebeian. Then the word "ṣadaqa" took the non-pejorative sense of "real family capital." The joint, *i.e.* undivided ṣadaqa of the 'Alīides had caused a law-suit in 90 A. H. (Ibn 'Asākir, V. 460) and in 113 A. H. (Ṭabarī, s.a. 121; cf. Kashī, 188; Lammens *Fāṭima*, 100, note 4, and 111, note 1) not to speak of the Fadak; the budget of the 'Alīides, from the second century onwards, had four sources: seven fields in Madīna (waqf ahli), four iqṭa'ats (YQ., III, 906; IV, 1039), the official 'aṭā, the gifts administered by the sayārifa. (Prof. Massignon has a note in preparation).

30. Kulainī. *Kāfī*. 149-150; N. 10-11; cf. also Caetani, V, 29; Ibn Ṭāūsī, *Ṭarāif*, 79. Cf. *Qur.*, XXXVI, 20.

31. On the *wilā*, cf. Lammens, *Moawia*, I, 256-257; *isṭīāb* II. 437.

32. Sunnite opinion (Bukhārī. IS. IV, 1, 60).

33. Ibn 'Uyaina (IS. IV, 1, 60).

known the Prophet at Mecca before 1 A. H., unless the word "muhājir" has got here its south-Arabic sense for this foreigner, *viz.* "he who has become a *citizen* (here Hajar *Madīna*). I do not venture to think of Syriac *mahgar* = Islamised[34]?

2. Of a certain muhājir, Abū Dharr Ghifārī[35], or Miqdād, ḥalīf of the B. Zuhra[36]? In this case, Salmān was reckoned in the Madīnese list of the tribe (Juhaina), in which he was a slave.

This disagreement does not necessarily imply, as Horovitz affirmed, that Salmān had not taken part in this rite. Zuhrī, whom he follows herein, was a paid agent of the Umaiyads, who wanted to discredit a witness who was already revered by the Shī'ite rebels, by placing the date of Salmān's conversion after Badr. With this end in view, he lets the negotiations for his ransom drag on in order to make him enter the Community immediately as a liberated slave of the Prophet in 5 A. H.

THE ḤADITH "SALMĀN MINNĀ AHL AL-BAIT."

The close connection of Salmān with the Prophet and his people during his life-time, without speaking of small stories of no import, is based on these words "Salmān is one of us, we, who are the people of the House"[37], which, according to the Sunnite tradition, was pronounced by Muḥammad in the year 5 A. H., at the time of the War of the Ditch. The Prophet is said to have put an end to the dispute between the Muhājirs and the Anṣārs, by annexing him thus to his own clients (thus was he not yet one of them?) This tradition is based on a unique account of a Madīnese rāwī, Kathīr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Amr b. 'Awf Yashkūrī (died in 80 A. H.), which is feebly acknowledged (wayukāl) by Ibn Hishām and Waqīdī[38]. The motif advanced by Kathīr is insufficient. It is a pretext conceived in order to weaken the sense of this renowned sentence.

Indeed, if one takes the pains to collect the oldest quotations, it is ascertained that this sentence is borrowed from a longer sentence, summarising the *shamā'il* of Salmān in four paragraphs, a sentence which could not have been pronounced but after the death of Salmān, and placed in the mouth of an Imām, in that of 'Alī or of Bāqir. The sentence is as follows:—

(*a*) "Salmān is one of us, we, who are the people of the House: (*b*) May he be for you like the sage Luqmān (rarely replaced by: (*b'*) he is an inexhaustible sea and an unattainable treasure); (*c*) he knows the first science (variant: of the first

34. Literally: "become son of Agar": F. Nau, *Les Arabes chrétiens...*, 1933, 129-132.
35. Opinion of the Bāqirīyan writings, and of the Kulainī.
36. Extremist and Ismā'īlite opinions (N. 86).
37. Ahl al-Bayt, in *Qur.* XXXIII, 33 = ḥārem of the Prophet (Lammens, *Fāṭima*, 99); but in the taslīya, Āl = Ahl = "posterity"; and for the ṣadaqa on which they lived, the Ahl of the Prophet about a hundred persons: ḥārem, servants, certainly, but also certain agnates and freedmen.
38. Ibn Hishām, ed. Suhailī, II, 191; N. 36; same formula said of Usāma and Khadīja (Ibn 'Arābī, *Musāmarāt*, 2, 142). The Nuṣairī Khaṣībī says it to Sayegh (ms. Paris 1 450, fol. 178 b).

things) and the second (variant: of the last things) (sometimes replaced by: (*c'*) the science of the First and the Second,—or (*c''*) the first and the second book; (*d*) and the Paradise longs for him five times a day."[39].

The sentence has here its full force: it is the question of appreciating what Salmān had done by a sort of adoption, not tribal, but personal, or better by an investiture, *i.e.*, a writing, rules of conduct of a sect or predictions preserved in his name, or certain oral tradition of the exegesis. Under this complex form (it should not be believed that the simplest form of a sentence is by right the most archaic),—it occurs already in Daḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim Hilālī (died in 105 A. H.: $a + c + b$)[40] and in Abū Ḥarb, son of the Qāḍī Abū'l-Aswad Du'alī (*id.*) as in Ibn Juraij (died in 150 A. H. and in Abū'l-Bakhtarī: $b + c + a$)[41]; not speaking of the Shī'ites: the moderate ones: Zurāra (died in 148 A. H.: $c + b' + a$; form commented on since Khath'amī who died in 180 A. H.,) Ḥarīz (*c'*) and Ibrāhīm Thaqafī (died in 283 A. H., ap. *Kitāb al-Ghārāt*: $b + a$); and the extremists: Mufaḍḍal (died in 170 A. H.: $b' + c'$) and Barqī (died in 210 A. H., $b' + a + b'$); all of whom say that they have received this sentence from Aṣbagh ($a + b + c'$) and from Ḥārith ($a + c + b$)[42]. And every one of these variants is coloured with a purpose having theological import. —*E. G.*: (*c*) "the First and Second sciences" = past + future—, or tanzīl + ta'wīl; but "the first ones and the second ones" = ancient (Israelite) errors and Muḥammadan maxims; —"of the First and of the Second" = of Muḥammad and of 'Alī (in the Sīnī sense) according to Ḥarīz and Mufaḍḍal.—(*b'*) "inexhaustible sea" is explained by Mufaḍḍal according to Qur. XXXI, 26, which suggests that Salmān commands the seven demiurges instead of being only one of them.—According to Mufīd ($b' + a + b''$), Barqī replaces *in fine* the allusion to Luqmān by a paraphrase probably Khaṭṭābīan (*b''*: "Salsal, the source from which wisdom (ḥikma), springs up, which is the dispenser of the proof[43]"). Such a specific abundance, already from the commencement of the second century, proves that this complete sentence could not have been later than the years from 51 to 60 A. H.

Asserting that Salmān was one of the "people of the House" as mawlā, it is said that his name was read amongst theirs in the register of the pensions (dīwān al-'aṭā) under 'Umar; inscribed for 4000 to 6000 dirhems[44]; an exceptional sum, as Salmān was not at Badr; Horovitz is, therefore, right in objecting to this pseudo-proof.

But the heresiography furnishes us, in an independent way, a very curious presumption. From 128 A. H. onwards, the formula "*anta minnā Ahl al-Bait*",

39. I add here (d), which is found only in Evlīya (ap. Thorning, 87), because a + c + d = classical text of the corporative catechisms.
40. Daḥḥāk gives it, according to Nazzāl b. Sabra Hilālī (Mizzī, *l. c.*, before Abū Ḥarb).
41. Ibn Sa'd, IV, 1, 61; Ḥāfiz Iṣf., 77*a*.
42. Kashī. 8, 11; N. 24, 52. (*cf.* Astarābādī. 94-95), 50-51, 52, 53.
43. Phrase here said to have been pronounced by the Prophet: N. 50-51, 30: "salsal = ja'far al-mā."
44. According to Ḥasan Baṣrī (*si.*), *via* Hishām b. Ḥassān (IS, IV, 1, 62).

which declares the adoption of Salmān by Muḥammad, had acquired a rather undisputed ritual value, so that the 'Abbāside pretender Ibrāhīm makes use of it solemnly by investing the famous Abū Muslim (his mawlā since 124 A. H.), above the whole initiatic hierarchy of his agents, with a plenary delegation of his personal powers[45]; in order that he may declare the legitimist insurrection in Khurāsān in his own name on the day of the breaking of the fast (Fiṭr = Nuṭq = breaking of the silence and the secret among the initiated ones). It is this delegation of powers which authorised later on Abū Muslim to claim, not exactly the Imāmat, but the rôle of *Sīn*[46]. And it is this supreme rôle of Sīn, of the inspired demiurge which Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, surnamed at first "mawlā Banī Hāshim[47]", claimed at Kūfa in 138 A. H., saying that it had been recognised in his case by Imām Ja'far by adopting another formula, this one consecrating and wholly gnostic, which Muḥammad is said to have used for Salmān[48]. The Khaṭṭābiyas repudiated the carnal idea of the predestination of the 'Alīides as such, and professing that only the divine election by spiritual adoption counts, called Salmān, not "Muḥammadī" but "ibn al-Islām"[49], and his successor Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb: "Abū Ismā'īl"[50].

Without adopting the hypothesis of Aḥmed Agaeff on the secret anti-Sunnite society which Salmān is said to have founded with the aid of Irānian "converts," a theory which is symmetrical with that of Saif (taken up again by Friedländer and Aḥmed Amīn) about the anti-Sunnite conspiracy hatched by Ibn Sabā, a Jew of Yemen, — it must be admitted that from the end of the first century the formula of Salmānian adoption[51] had, among the Shī'ite conspirators a ritual value which supposed his participation even in the inspiration of the Prophet, a value which it did not cease to preserve up to now in the Ismā'īlian free-masonry and in the trade-guilds as well: joining closely Salmān with the Prophet at the time of the Revelation of the Qur'ān.

THE SENTENCE "KARDĪD O NAKARDĪD."

It is here the question of a sentence imputed to Salmān by the Zaidite ḥadīth and by the Imāmite and Ismā'īlian ḥadīths as well. It was published, therefore, before the years 113-121 A. H. Salmān who regretted the hasty election of Abū Bakr at the time of the saqīfa, is said to have said before witnesses, with a thorough Zaidite circumspection "you have done and you have not done" (in Persian: kardīd o nakardīd; in Arabic: 'amiltum wamā 'amiltum). These are very ambiguous words. Was the original form of this sentence Persian? It is difficult to see that Salmān took recourse to his mother-tongue so that a crowd of Arabs might listen to him. But we can fairly well foresee the Ḥamrās gained over to the cause of Shī'ism spreading abroad this sentence of Salmān in its Irānian form twenty years afterwards at Baṣra and at Kūfa.

45. Ṭabarī, II, 1939 (*cf.* 1916, and s. a. 129 A. H.); Maqrīzī, *Niẓā'*, 50. *cf.* Kashī, 136. Qādī Nu'mān, *Da'āim*, II, 210, and WZKM, IV, 226, l. 5. Abū Muslim states accordingly that he is of the same naṣab as Salmān (Māfarrūkhī, *Ta'arīkh i Isfahān*).

46. See *infra*, p. 29.

47. DH, III, 64, l. 6-7 and *in fine*.

48. *Infra*, to the App. I.

49. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 39; Ibn Manda (ap. Mizzī); N. 33. (Jibri'īl said to him "anta minnā"); cf. *Qur.* V, 21.

50. *Cf.* p. 21, note 82; here "father" of the seventh Imām, *Ismā'īl* b. Ja'far (Mufaḍḍal, ap. Kashī. 208). Inversely, Ibn al-Qaddāḥ will be "adopted" by the son of Ismā'īl.

51. Ibn 'Arabī has later given to this formula a predestinarian interpretation (*Futūḥāt*. chap. XXIX, I, 219): the sins of Salmān were pardoned beforehand.

In fact, this sentence appears first in its archaïc (graphic or dialectical) form employed by a man of Baṣra, Abū 'Imrān 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb Azdī Jawnī (died in 128 A. H.; teacher of the Shī'ite Ḍuba'ī who died in 178 A. H.) and edited by Madā'inī (died in 215 A. H.; ap. Baladhurī)[52]: "kardādh o nākardādh." And nearly at the same time, in the Arabic form "aṣabtum wa akhta'tum" in two Zaidite sources, which, it is curious to note, insert therein divergent glosses: Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit (died in 119 A. H., ed. by Ibn Shabba died in 262 A. H.: aṣabtum dhā'l-sinn walakinnakum akhta'tum ahl'l-Bayt nabīyikum) and Jarīr b. Mughīra (unknown: preferred by M. b. Qudāma Jawharī who died in 237 A. H., in his *Kitāb as-Saqīfa*): aṣabtum al-khiyara, wa akhta'tum al-ma'din)[53]; let us note that this Ḥabīb transmitted to Saif narratives of two of the Ḥamrās, Māhān and Sufyān.

Then, it is found among the Imāmites, who admit it perhaps for the requirements of the Zaidite polemic since the time of Abān b. Taghlib (died in 141 A. H.) in the classical Irānian form (like the Ismā'īlites) "kardīd o nakardīd" (in Arabic "fa'altum walam taf'alu" = aslamtum wamā aslamtum")[54], of which they change artfully the sense according to an exegesis (hallowed by the shāfī of S. Murtaḍā)[55], which goes back to two very ancient apocrypha, the *Khuṭba* of the Pseudo-Salmān and the *Kitāb* of the Pseudo-Sulaim b. Qais[56]: thus glossing the old Arabic Zaidite form of the sentence, aṣabtum wa akhta'tum "you have accommodated yourselves to the (impious) example of the Israelites (who had revolted against Aaron)[57], and you have deviated from the (exemplary) authority of your Prophet (by taking it the (authority) away from his family.")

The Zaidite glosses, which are more plausible, explain thus: that of Jarīr (rather Jārūdite) "you were right in electing (a leader), but you were wrong in deviating from the (legitimate) source (of authority); and that of Ḥabīb (rather Butrite) "you were right in selecting a man of mature age, but you were wrong in deviating yourself from the family of your Prophet."

This sentence, as employed by the Zaidites ought to go further back, because it is followed in Jawnī, Ḥabīb and Murtaḍā by a reflection on the baraka, which is

52. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris 6068, fol. 387 b. cf. "khurshādh" for "khurshīdh" ap. Ritter, App. to his edition of the *Firaq*, of Nawbakhtī, p. 9, l. 10 (P. Kraus); and the change Rāwandī/Rīwandī.

53. IS, VI, 223; IAH, I, 132. l. 9 from below, compared with p. 131. l. 3 from below, II, 17, and IV, 225.

54. Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtijāz*, 43; N. 149.

55. Ṭabarsī, *id.*, 44; N. 149-150.

56. Kashī, 14. l. 15; N. 67; Ṭabarsī. *l. c.* 49, 62; Mu'aiyad Amulī, *Kāshkū* (N. 149); Ismā'īlian Shihāb ad-Dīn Shāh, ed. Ivanow (*Risāla*, 49).

57. Application of *Qur.* XX, 30 to 'Alī.

really folkloric : " if you had taken an oath for 'Alī, you would have had food to eat far above your head and far below your feet."

Let us note that this sentence[58] does not prove that Salmān had publicly protested in the year 11 A. H. by shaving the head and by drawing the sword (Imāmite theory) ; but it shows, against the opinion of Horovitz, that already a century and a half before Ya'qūbī, the 'Irāqian tradition asserted that Salmān had placed the problem of the legitimate Imāmate at the time of the election of Abū Bakr. It was perhaps in a very small committee. The *argumentum e silentio* does not prove anything. The contemporaries did not know the state-affairs except through an official faked version, and we must await the posthumous divulgations of the secrets of the witnesses in order to look into them clearly.

III

His death at Madā'in ; presumptions of his having come to 'Irāq as ḥalīf of the 'Abd al-Qais.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (died in 463 A. H.) gives us, on the authority of Sha'bī (died in 103 A. H.), the following information : " Salmān died at Madā'in, in an *'uliya* (a Meccan expression for *ghurfa* = room on a storey) appertaining to Abū Qurra "[59]. This precise detail can be authentic. Abū Qurra Kindī, Qādī of Kūfa in 17 A. H., has left us through his son 'Amr (who was living in 83 A. H.) a series of data on Salmān, forming the chief Kindite source (before Zādhān), which is called that of Āl Abī Qurra[60].

At any rate, a tomb (*qabr*) of Salmān was erected at Madā'in as soon as the first truce after persecutions, that of 204-232 A. H., permitted the Shī'ites to erect those for 'Alī and Ḥusain. The Zaidite, Ibn Shaiba Sadūsī (died in 262 A. H.)[61] mentions it. Muqaddasī speaks of it in the fourth century A. H., then al Khaṭīb, and Yāqūt came here on a pilgrimage[62]. Up to that time two categories of pilgrims visited it : certain Sunnite corporations of Baghdād (barbers, pedicures, phlebotomists and assistant-surgeons) on the traditional anniversary of the 15th Sha'bān (from the seventh century onwards),—and at variable dates, solitary Shī'ites returning from Najaf and from Karbalā'[63]. In the seventh century, Madā'in, still a village (qarya) of husbandmen, gave refuge only to fervent Shī'ites

58. Incorrectly transcribed ap. Sacy (*Druzes*, II, 143) and Huart (transl. Maqdisī, *Bad'* V, 201). Other words in Persian with reference to Salmān, *bemīr* (Sab'ī). *khaṣhāb* (Nahdī), *gurg āmadh* (Thābit), seem also to have come from the milieu of the Ḥamrā'. The Druzes make that sentence mean that Salmān criticised the false claims of both the *Nāṭiq* and the *Is'as* to share his own Deity (cf. Baha' ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, ap. Ṭabarsī, *Nafas*, 149).

59. *Istī'āb*, in margin of the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥajar, II, 61 ; cf. Jāḥiz. *Bayān*, I, 11, l. 13.

60. Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 243.

61. KH, I, 164, 374 ; BGA, VII, 312.

62. Muqaddasī, 130 ; Kh. I, 163 ; YQ, IV. 447.

63. Sarre-Herzfeld, *l. c.*, II, 58.

(women could come out only after night-fall)[64]. Likewise, in the fourth century when this city was the centre of the Isḥāqīyas, an extremist sect[65]. In the same way, already in the second century, as Nawbakhtī asserts that " all people of Madā'in are Shī'ite extremists," while speaking about the foundation among them of the extremist sect of the Ḥārithīyas (before 127 A. H.)[66], who had the ḥadīths about Salmān[67]. Going up still higher, we note that Sābāt, the western suburb of Madā'in, was after 37 A. H. the place of exile and refuge of the extremist 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb Hamdānī (= the famous Ibn Sabā)[68]. All this makes us think of the attraction of a pre-existing tomb held in reverence, rather than of the preparation of the opening of its arbitrary location in this place.

Other mashhads Salmān, mentioned as existing at Dāmaghan, Quhāb (north-east of Iṣfahān), Sudūd and Jerusalem are arbitrary locations. They are not known before the sixth century A. H. [69]. The Fāṭimids seem to have helped the guilds of initiated craftsmen to build mashhads for the " hair " shaved off the Prophet's head by Salmān and left to the Barbers' guild, *e.g.*, at Qairawān (Sidi-Sahab) ; at Gaziantep (Turkey) the " sakalé-sharīf " is wrapped in forty clothes and kissed on the Lailat al-Qadr.

The date of the death of Salmān is not known : " at the end of the caliphate of 'Umar," or " under the caliphate of 'Uthmān" (Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd), because previously " he had settled himself down at Kūfa under the caliphate of 'Uthmān" (Ibn Shaiba). In the third century, the compilers of the Sunnite ḥadīth fixed the date 36 A. H.[70] (Qāsim b. Sallām Azdī died in 224 A. H. ; Abū 'Ubaida Zanjawaih (= Makhlad) died in about 230 A. H. ; Khalīfa Usfurī died in 240 A. H. ; *cf.* 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Qānī' died in 351 A. H.), because his presence at the defeat of Balanjar in 32 A. H.[71] gave a *terminus a quo*. Certain others put his death in 33 A. H.; because Ibn Mas'ūd, who died in 34 A. H., is said to have assisted him with Sa'd (b. Malik = A. S. Khudrī) during his last agony.

By referring to the sources, it is ascertained that the last chronological indications concerning Salmān are the years 14 to 17 A. H. Horovitz has shown how their purport itself is suspicious : the rôle of the quarter-master (rā'id) of the army[72], negotiating with the inhabitants of Madā'in their surrender, then leading the

64. Z. Qazwīnī, *'Ajāib*, II, 302-303 ; N. 164 (= Bākūwī) ; id. at Biyār (Muqaddasī, BGA. 356-357).

65. KH. VI, 378.

66. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 29.

67. Transmitted by the son of their founder Yaḥya b. 'AA b. Ḥārith to M. b. Isḥāq Balkh (Ibn Abī'd-Dunyā *Kitāb al-hawātif al-jān*. ap. N. 110 : cf. KH. X, 90, and DH, III, 24).

68. Nawbakhtī *Firaq*, 19.

69. Ms. Ivanow on the XVII and the XXXIII professions (in Persian) ; Yq. II, 170 ; Zéki Pasha, *l. c.*; Kahle, ap. *Palästina Jhrb.*, 1910, 79-80 (now destroyed, according to Dr. L. A. Mayer).

70. Mizzī, *l. c.*; Ibn Taghribirdī, ms. Paris, 1551, 40,a. ; KH. I, 171. For the death in 33 A. H. AN and Bandanījī ; before 22 A. H., Ibn Qutaiba.

71. Horovitz denies it ; he seems to have been mixed up with his homonymous Salmān b. Abī Rābi'a.

72. Whose interpreter was Hilāl (*Ḥajarī* Ṭabarī. I. 2225 ; see *infra*).

attack by swimming across the Tigris, finally, selecting the site where to lay the foundation of Kūfa, and receiving from 'Umar the post of the governor of Madā'in[73]. But, as we shall see, he seems to have come to 'Irāq in these years. Mu'ādh b. Jabal, while on the point of death in 18 A. H., mentions Salmān as still living[74]. I would rather place the death of Salmān at Madā'in between the years 20 and 28 A. H.

The stories of his death are enigmatic: Salmān ordered to sprinkle some perfume[75], saluted the Ahl al-Qubūr, and entreated to be left alone, leaving all doors open, as if awaiting invisible visitors. The Sunnite versions stop here. But the Shī'ite tradition, *ab antiquo*, states precisely that it is not the question of angels, but of 'Alī who is said to have been miraculously transported from Madīna for helping him. This legend which irritated Caliph Mustanṣir[76], seems to be old, and perhaps originated very early.

Besides these probabilities in favour of the death of Salmān at Madā'in, the chroniclers do not give any detail on the coming to and on the life of Salmān in 'Irāq after his departure from Madīna. But the criticism of the isnāds going back to Salmān, criticism which is set forth further with respect to the bibliography, helps us not only in classifying the ḥadīths, when their contents confirm it, according to sects, a fact which permits us often to date them, but it makes them converge also in the surroundings of Kūfa towards three or four sources, and we have thus a glimpse, below the stratum of the ḥadīths which are classed according to sects, after 100 A. H., of a primitive stratum in which the ḥadīths seem to have been classed, as in the case in question, according to clans and Arab tribal confederacies. I intend to give elsewhere[77] the results of my investigations on the survival of the *aḥlāfs* or tribal confederacies among the Arab inhabitants of Kūfa, above all among the Shī'ites. I point out here simply that it was not only in Baṣra, where this affair manifested itself in 3 A. H., but also some years earlier at Kūfa, that the Rabī'ide tribe of the 'Abd al-Qais seem to have first professed Shī'ism in a form which was defined later.

It is, therefore, quite interesting to note that starting from a cluster of sufficiently sure Kūfī isnāds,—Simāk b. Ḥarb Bakrī Dhuhlī (died in 123 A. H.)[78],—one goes back to Salmān and to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais, through three or four rāwīs

73. The "wālī of Madā'in and Jūkhā" (Ḥārith, brother of Marwān I in 34 A. H., Sa'd b. Mas'ūd in 36 A. H.), was, therefore, surely Ḥudhaifa, a simple revenue agent (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 281), with whom Salmān discussed the names of those whom the Prophet had cursed (Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 437); Ḥudhaifa, surely a Shī'ite (cf. his three sons) had accepted this post, by taqiya, just as Sa'īd b. Nimrān was Qadī of Kūfa for 'AA b. Zubair.

74. Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 243; IS. IV-1, 61.

75. A little of musc: the booty of Balanjar, or rather of Jalūlā (year 17 A. H.). Cf. the tahannuth.

76. IS, IV-2, 66; on the *ghusl* by 'Alī, Ghazān b. Jibrī'īl Tabrīzī (died in about 655 A. H.), *Manāqib*, 113-121; Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh, *Ṭarā'iq*, II, 5.

77. Ap. *Mélanges Maspero*, publ. IFAO, Cairo.

78. IS, VI, 82, 125. In fact, this is the isnād of the Qiṣṣat Salmān in Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥakīm (Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, 4. 139).

putting forward Zaid b. Sūhān 'Abdī (died in 36 A. H.), one of the first leaders of the Shī'ite opposition with his brother Ṣa'ṣa'a under 'Uthmān; Salmān had the prayer conducted by Zaid in his own place in a detachment of troops in 'Irāq[79] (according to Nu'mān b. Ḥumaid Bakrī; as a matter of fact, as mawlā the non-Arab Salmān, although being a canonic authority, had not got the right of being imām ṣalāt. He said this to the son of Abū Qurra)[80]. On the other hand, Zaid, in order to "prove his affection" had taken the *kunya* of Abū Salmān[81], according to Ghailān b. Jarīr Azdī Mi'walī (died in 129 A. H.; ed. by Ibn Shaiba who died in 262 A. H.). This detail, when put together with the preceding one, seems to me to show in reality that between Salmān and Zaid b. Sūhān, the head of a clan of the 'Abd al-Qais, a contact of the *ḥilf* was established[82]. I suppose that Salmān, who was deprived of his field at Madā'in[83] at the time of the confiscation of ṣadaqāt Ahl al-Bait to the profit of the public Treasury, assured his own personal security, like all other non-Arab converts, by becoming a ḥalīf: of the 'Abd al-Qais, whom he followed to 'Irāq.

This hypothesis is supported by details, when we study the special situation of the 'Abd al-Qais. They had settled themselves at Baḥrain and in 'Umān (*sic*)[84], *i.e.* in the present al-Aḥsā'. The clan *Dhīlī*[85] of Zaid occupied the country of the al-Khaṭṭ (it is Qaṭīf and 'Uqair) whose ḥiṣn, Jūwāthā, enclosing the first jum'a mosque, constructed after that of Madīna, was besieged at the time of the ridda[86]. Besides, the 'Abd al-Qais of the chief town of Baḥrain, Ḥajar (= Mushaqqar, modern Hufhūf) are said to have placed themselves under the suzerainty of the *Hibāq* of Tamīm of the Sa'dī clan, whose "king" Zuhra led them in 12 A. H. to the conquest of 'Irāq. It is not by chance that we see the name Zuhra, the commandant of the vanguard at Qādisīya mentioned with that of Salmān with respect to Bahrasīr, and that of Zaid with respect to Jalūla[87]. Further, it is with the Sa'dī clan of the Tamīm (that of Zuhra) that the Persian Ḥamrās from Siyāh to Baṣra, and from Dailam to Kūfa, performed their famous *ḥilf* by submitting themselves[88]; and as other clans of the Tamīm, like the Dārims, were anti-Irānian, we can think that if the Ḥamrās performed ḥilf with Zuhra, it was in order to fraternise with his vassals, the 'Abd al-Qais; above all, with those of the clan *Dhīlī* (of Zaid), who had undergone such a strong Irānian imprint that in 33 A. H.

79. IS, VI, 85.

80. IS. IV, 65.

81. *Iṣāba*, I, 583; KH, VIII, 439.

82. Cf. the relation of *wilā* to *kunya* in Sa'īd "*Abū Fākhita*," mawlā of Umm Hānī (Astarābādī, 77). In order to de: it in Zaid, he is called "Abū 'Āisha" (*sic.*: because of the letter of the year 36 A. H.).

83. Nāṣiré-Khosraw, ap. E. G. Browne, *LHP*, II, 229.

84. Cf. Grohmann, ap. *Enz. Isl.*, II, 999.

85. *Dhīl* (Jawharī, ap. Suwaidī, *Sabā'ik*, s. v.), or *Dīl* (Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif* 31); or *'Ijl* (Ibn Sa'd, IV, 84; Wüstenfeld, *GT*, A 15: clan of the extremist Mustanīr, died in 120 A. H.) "Bahīra" was of the 'Abd al-Qais (Mas'ūdī); Hurmuzān became a "mawlā" of the 'Abd al-Qais (Ibn Qutaiba, Ma'ārif, 145).

86. YQ, IV, 541, III, 453, 136.

87. Ṭabarī, *index*, s. v.; Caetani, s. a. 16 A. H.

88. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, s. v.

Mu'awiya and his Quraishites insulted them as Persian half-castes[89]. And, in the first division in the seven quarters of Kūfa, in 17 A. H., the Ḥamrās were placed in the same sub' as the 'Abd al-Qais. Two more remarks : 1. the masjid of the 'Abd al-Qais was situated[90] in the quarter of the Yemenites of Hamdān (who had relieved the 'Abd al-Qais at the front in 14 A. H.), when in 41 A. H., Baḥrain and the 'Umān, homes of the 'Abd al-Qais, were separated from the Ḥijāz and annexed to Baṣra[91], where this tribe which was already in power concentrated itself[92], leaving henceforth Kūfa (the Kūfiote ḥadīths which associated Salmān with the 'Abdites are therefore archaic) ; 2. the Hamdāns, their successors in Kūfa, became consecutively ardent Shī'ites like them around their masjid ; and the clan Ḥanzalī of Tamīm, which had also performed ḥilf in 16 A. H., with the Irānian low castes of the Zuṭṭs, and Sayābijas had (done it) before 22 A. H., just like saiyid, Ṣabīgh b. 'Isl[93], whom Caliph 'Umar persecuted for having propagated a particular exegesis of the Sura LI (one of the Suras preferred by the later Shī'ite commentators), and a little later, Ḍābī b. Ḥārith, whom 'Uthmān persecuted.

Thus, it would be fairly shown that Salmān, son of a Persian iswār (cavalier) had, according to Sabī'ī, performed ḥilf with the 'Abd al- Qais, and through his disciple Zaid b. Sūhān, had gained them, and their allies, the Ḥamrās, to his legitimist ideas. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Sūhān, had, as early as in 33 A. H., if we should believe Wāqidī, supported before Mu'awiya the pure Shī'ite doctrine of the identity of the imāmat of Ādam and that of 'Alī (*'Ain, Ṣāmit*), he being one of the only ones "who were aware of the true rank of 'Alī "[94]. We shall come back to this point below.

The following is the list of the (direct or first-hand) 'Abdite rāwīs of Salmān : Zaid b. Sūhān ; his mawlā Abū Muslim ; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Mas'ūd, friend of Zaid[95], who settled himself at Madā'in, where there were 'Abdite settlers. Finally, the account of the conversion of the great chief of the 'Abd al-Qais, Jārūd b.

89. Ṭabarī, I, 2914 ; *cf. id.*, I, 3148 (insults of Shabath Tamīmī).

90. Cf. L. Massignon's Study in *Mélanges Maspero* on the tribal origin (and not governmental, as Lammens had thought) of these first divisions. This masjid was near the dār of 'Abda Jadalī, the future Kaisānī (Ṭabarī, II, 657) ; Dīnawarī, ed. Cairo, 115.

91. AN, I. 29.

92. The 'Abdite clans *Dhīl, 'Ijl, Muḥārib*, and *'Amr* formed the *'Umār* (*'Iqd*. II, 45) which Ibn Sabā Hamdānī commanded at the battle of the Camel (Ṭabarī, I, 3181).

93. Massignon considers excessive the reserves of Goldziher on this first case, so important, of the condemned Coranic exegesis ; it was that of the ta'wīl shakhsī ; comp. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, 198-199, and Ibn Taimiya, *Minhāj*, III, 326, with the sources given by Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, II, 82, and *Richtungen*, 55 note). Caetani (Ann., IV, 539), misled by the punctuation of Ibn 'Abdal Hakam (ms. of Paris, 1687, fol. 229 a ; Ḍubai'ī), could not identify it.

94. Wāqidī, *in* Ṭabarī, I, 2917-2919 (on Qur. II, 32) ; cf. in *Istī'āb* (II, 197) the curious homage paid to 'Umar, saying " anta minnā " after a lesson of the exegesis of Sa'sa'a ; 'Umar treated kindly also his brother Zaid (IS., VI, 85) ; cf. Kashī, 46 and the part played by Qubaisa 'Absī already in the year 18 A. H. at Kūfa, who was killed for the legitimate cause in 51 A. H. with Ḥujr. Massignon considers the text of Sa'sa'a to be authentic, because M. A. Guidi has just drawn attention to the theory of the Umaiyad extremists (*RSO*, 1932, 275-284 ; cf. Maqrīzī, *Niza'*, 29 ; Ibn Zainab, *Ghaiba*, 17-18) ; placing the rank of the khalīfa above the Prophet, already at the beginning of the second century A. H.

95. KH, VII, 53 ; X, 205 ; XIV, 73 (Sam'ānī, 356 *b*).

Mundhir[96], attributes it positively to Salmān, who was then at Madīna ; Mundhir, son of Jārūd, was nominated by 'Alī governor of Fārs (Istakhr) which was colonised by his tribe since 19 A. H. This latter fact increases the probability of the bond between 'Abd al-Qais and Salmān *Fārisī*.

THE ISNAD (OF THE CORPORATIONS OF ARTISANS AND OF CERTAIN RELIGIOUS ORDERS) CONCERNING SALMĀN.

There are two aspects of the Salmānian legend which are to be considered ; the most ancient and the most important one is the artisanal aspect.[96bis]

The appearance of a Salmānian isnād among certain Sunnite religious orders, like the Qādirīyas, the Baktāshīyas and the Naqshabandīyas, is nothing else but an accidental phenomenon[97]. It does not go back beyond the sixth century A. H. It comes more or less from an admitted borrowing from a gencalogical (and not initiatic) isnād of the Suhrawardīyas. The founder of this order, Ibn 'Ammūya Suhrawardī (died in about 550 A. H.), disciple of a Zanjānī, pretended to be Bakrī, as he was the seventh descendant of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (died 126 A. H.) b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. His father Qāsim (died in 108 A. H.) was said to be " the disciple of Salmān, who was himself the disciple of Abū Bakr " (*sic*). Qāsim, a well known rāwī, acknowledged by the Sunna and the Shī'a as well, was by his daughter Umm Farwa, the grandfather of Imām Ja'far. When we know how much his father Muḥammad (died in 37 A. H.) was implicated in the murder of 'Uthmān, it is difficult to grasp why this Sunnite order laid claim to such an isnād[98], from which there were but rare borrowings, and of which N. Shūshtarī had already seen the improbability.

In the trade-guilds, under a naively masonic aspect, the isnād of Salmān, to which all corporations unanimously refer, shows itself more significative. Among the cultural substrata, which Islām had concealed, immediately after the primitive stage of the clearing of the ground by sedentary cultivators, followed by its cadastral parcelling out, we find the stage of the rural artisanal techniques (pottery, clothing, etc.), in which even now pre-Islāmic survivals crop up, above all in Irān. Now, the whole initiatic structure of the Muslim artisans of the East, from Egypt up to India, before the contemporary invasion of European mechanism and

96. N, 50 ; *Iṣāba*, No. 1042-1043. His grandson was insulted by Mus'ab in 71 A. H. (Ṭabarī, s. a. ; cf. Rustaqubādh). He belonged to the clan *Jadhīma*, brother of the clan *Bakr*, to whom belonged Ibn Nuṣair.

96 bis. Prof. Massignon has dealt with this aspect in "La Futuwwa" ou "pacte d'honneur artisanal entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Âge", publ. ap. "La Nouvelle Clio," Bruxelle 1952, pp. 171-198.

97. Only one Sunnite ascetic is said to have been his disciple : the problematic Ḥabīb Rā'ī (Hujawīrī, tr., 90 ; is he Ibn Ḥazm, II, 74 ?) Yūsuf Hamadhānī (died in 535 A. H.) will refer later on to Salmān (Köprülüzadé, *Ilk mutasawwf*., 78).

98. Sanūsī, *Salsabīl* (ms. pers. 118 ; trad. Colas 47, 83, 87, 94 ; comp. Colas 93 with the Suhrawardīyan genealogy on top of the *'awārif*, t. I, p. 1) ; Depont-Coppolani, 92, 522, 534 ; Brown-Rose, 168 ; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Ṭarā'iq*, II. 6.

syndicalism, was, and this during at least more than six hundred years, founded on an ensemble of symbolic rites; the *futuwwa*, described in the popular Arabic, Persian and Turkish catechisms (the most ancient of the year 690 A. H. is in nine hundred Persian couplets, ms. Köpr. fols. 89-100.—Taeschner), where the figure of Salmān eclipses all others. He is the master, par excellence, of all corporations, the fourth "initiated" (*mashdūd*)[99]; it is he, as one entrusted with the initiation of the Companions of the Prophet (*shadd al-futuwwa*), shaved their heads, beginning with Ḥasan and Ḥusain[99bis]. The catechism specifies that Jibrī'īl brought the razor and the (whet-) stone (magnetized) to Muḥammad and shaved him at the time of the pilgrimage of farewell; and Muḥammad shaved 'Alī, who shaved Salmān, conferring on him thereby this office of the initiator. Salmān, the fourth of the Four Initiated Ones, himself initiated the seventeen (or thirty-three) or fifty-seven[100] Companions, the founders of the Muslim corporations.

This legend puts the Four in an order which connects it with the Mīmīyas, more precisely to the Qarmaṭīs, rather than to the Ismā'īlites, (because it does not identify Jibrī'īl with Salmān). It shows how deep and wide-spread was the propaganda of the Qarmaṭīs in Islam. It shows, also, we believe, at the bottom of the Muslim society and beyond the imprint of a Shī'ite sect, the persistent fidelity of the popular souvenir of Salmān, patron of craftsmen[101] because this society was composed of the converted *mawālīs* like him [102].

IV

The historical rôle of Salmān before Muḥammad regarding the revelation of the Qur'ān; his later rôle before 'Alī.—The speculations of Shī'ite gnosticism on the Sīn over against the Mīm and the 'Ain.

From the beginning of the second century of the Hijra, we have noticed two Salmānian formulas, one of the Muḥammadian adoption (according to the Kaisānīyas), the other of the initiatic consecration (according to the Khaṭṭābīyas), the value of whose solemn rites attests what spiritual influence the friendship of Salmān had exercised, according to these sects, on the mental state of the Prophet.

We know (*Qur.* X, 94, XIII, 43, etc.) that the Prophet was invited to compare the inspirations received by him with the Jewish and Christian scriptural notions. And if we make researches in the tafsīrs for the names of his guides in the exegesis,

99. Thorning, 159, 226. Id. in the princely *futuwa* of the Caliph Nāṣir.

99bis. Hence Salmān is the patron saint of Muslim barbers, cf. *Encyl. of Islam.*

100. Khākī Khorāsānī, *Dīwān*, introd. Ivanow, 12.

101. We shall see below that the gnostic name of the *Sīn* was applied to Salmān by the Shī'ite extremists; now, the Umaiyad extremists, the *Yezīdīs*, whose gnostic tendencies M. A. Guidi has shown in such an interesting manner, give this name of *Sīn*, joined with the title "*pīr-al-mashāikh*" ("patron of the handicraftsmen"), to Ḥasan Baṣrī; this carries us back to a date long before 535 A. H., when the *futuwa* appeared in history.

102. Whence a "fioritura di leggende," the like of which no other Ṣaḥabī had (Caetani, VIII, 419).

we do not find any body else but passers-by of no consideration, apart from two fairly suspicious Jewish converts and Salmān. This is much more suggestive.

It is among the Shī'ites that the ta'wīl has commenced—and it is in 'Irāq, above all in Kūfa that the Muslim science of the tafsīr has originated. And after the tafsīr attributed to Ibn 'Abbās[103] of which nothing reliable is left to us, we come across the tafsīr of Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (died in 105 A. H.) in five recensions. Now, Ibn Ḍaḥḥāk, who accepted, as we have seen, the Muḥammadian adoption of Salmān, comments upon *Qur.* XVI. 105, while identifying *al 'Ajamī*, "the non-Arab teacher" of Muḥammad, with Salmān[104] (Baiḍāwī takes up this identification; and the date of the conversion of Salmān is so uncertain that it might force his partisans to transfer the āyāt, supposed to be Makkīya among the Madanīya ones). Thus Ḍaḥḥāk thought that Salmān had helped the Prophet to consider seriously the scriptural antecedents of his revelations. And it is historically very possible; in that case, Salmān had assisted in the genesis itself of the very first ta'wīl, of which the Qur'ān contains the links so worthy of interest for him who thinks that Muḥammad intended to participate personally in the exemplary matters of conscience of the former prophets while he quoted them (*Qur.* XX. 30, LXVI. 4 and 10 = links of Shī'ism).

Was not Salmān more than this for the Prophet? The Ismā'īlites taught early that it was in reality Salmān, who made Muḥammad retain the whole Qur'ān in memory and that "the angel Jibrī'īl" was nothing else but the conventional name which was conferred on Salmān for his divine mission[105]. According to them, the Qur'ānic revelation is certainly of divine source. It is not the question of a hostile hypothesis accusing of imposture, like the hypothesis of the pseudo-Kindī about the participation of Sergios-Baḥīra, then of the two Jews Ka'b al-Aḥbār and 'Abd Allāh b. Salām in the redaction of the Qur'ān. The Ismā'īlites are Muslims who consider a particular modality of the wahy, in which the dictation by an invisible angel is replaced by initiation, from soul to soul, communicated by divine order to the Prophet by his Companion. The ḥadīths which they quote in support are suspicious, and their theory enters into gnostic speculations on the Sīn, as we shall see below.

Personal relations, historically possible, between Salmān and the Prophet amount to this:

a. According to an anonymous *Sunnite* source of Ibn Isḥāq: Salmān is one of the sixteen Companions allowed, on arriving at Madīna, to take part in the

103. The Sunnite recensions are contradictory (*cf.* Goldziher, *Richt.*, 78). It should not be forgotten that the peculiar political part played by Ibn 'Abbās led him to protect Ibn Sabā and caused himself to be saved by the Kaisānī Jadalī in 67 A. H. The oldest recension of his tafsīr, admitted all at once by the Karrāmīyas (IAH, I, 176, *Essai*, 237) and the Shī'ites as well, was the work, transmitted by al-Kalbī and his son Hishām, of a very important Shī'ite author, Abū Sālih Bādhān, the mawlā of Umm Hānī (at whose house 'Alī died; and there Rushaid had to go; and which preserved the relics of his brother, especially the kursī found in 67 A. H.); Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit (rāwī of 'Alī *via* 'Āsim b. Ḍamra: Khazrajī, 154) treated him as "derūgzen" (liar; in Persian, DH, I. 138).

104. Tabarī, XIV, 111; Abū Ḥaiyān, V, 536.

105. Ivanow, *Ismailitica*, 34, 74. The Nuṣairīs make an allusion to this doctrine (ms. Paris 6182, fol. 15 b.); as also the 'Ali-Hāhīs.

rite of fraternisation ; one of the seventeen mawlās of the Prophet (but liberated at once) : this fact raises the very interesting question of ṣadaqat an-Nabī, of the list of the closed gardens (ḥiṭān), on the proceeds of which the household of the Prophet lived, and of the names of the beneficiaries : it was from the ḥā'iṭ Maithab that the young suckers of date-palms came, from which (together with gold) the ransom of Salmān was paid[106].

Finally, Salmān occupies the second rank in the list of the thirty-four ahl aṣ-ṣūffa, compiled in the fourth century by the historian of Ṣūfism, Sulamī[107] ; but most of the Ṣūfī authors avoid naming him, although he was one of the chief ascetics from among Ṣaḥābas.

b. According to the *Zaidites*, Salmān was chosen by the Prophet as one of his twelve (or fourteen) *nujabā*'s (a probable Zaidite antithesis of the ten Sunnite mubashshiras)[108]. He was even proclaimed one of the Four Companions (with 'Alī, Abū Dharr and Miqdād) whom God ordered the Prophet to choose (according to Buraida)[109] ; and the third of the Three Chosen Ones " whom the Paradise desires " (after 'Alī and 'Ammār)[110]. These attractions of veneration represent all that the rising Zaidism could accept from Shī'ite devotion, which must have begun before the period from 113 A. H. to 121 A. H.

c. According to the *Moderate Imāmites*, Salmān, the first of the Three Apostles (*ḥawārīyūn* ; with Miqdād and Abū Dharr)[111] of Muḥammad, was his confident, his privileged councillor, whom his exceptional adoption marked out to exercise the same rôle after his death before the legitimate heir, 'Alī, for whom the Prophet had made Salmān take in private an oath of fidelity, together with five other Companions[112]. The historic probability of this theme is fairly weak ; it makes the double use of the public ceremony of the Ghadīr al-Khumm (rejected by the Zaidites, but admitted, after minimising its sense, by many a Sunnite)[113] which has the same object in view ; the Ismā'īlites remove the difficulty by making the Ghadīr a ceremony of abdication *hic et nunc*.

What became of the rôle of Salmān after the death of the Prophet ? The question arises hardly for the Zaidites, who make him one of the seven (or eight) Companions, partisans of a shūrā at the time of the tumultuous and abrupt election

106. Kashī, 12 ; YQ, IV, 712 ; N, 17. Maithab was in the territory of the B. Nadīr ; it was either bequeathed by one of them, Mukhairiq, to the Prophet, or confiscated with the rest in 4 A. H., at the time of the allotment of the whole by the Prophet among his relations and the two Anṣārs, Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna (N, 24).

107. Hujwīrī, trad. Nicholson, 45.

108. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. Ritter, I, 89 ; Mizzī, ms. Paris 2091, fol. 4 b ; (ms. Leyden 1971, fol. 275 ; cf. the fourteen takbīrs of Kashī, 78) ; Tabarnī, *A'yād* 71 a ; Ṭā'ūsī, *Ṭarāif*, 162.

109. Mizzī, ms. 2089, fol. 299 a.

110. Mizzī, ms. 2091 ; 4 b. Sarrāj, *Luma'*, 64 ; and even Tirmidhī, XLVI, 33 (Wensinck). Ibn Ḥazm, 4, 151. The first outline of the Ahl al-A'rāf (*Qur.* VII, 44 ; where it is supposed that the vocalisation is in the passive voice yutma'ūna).

111. Kashī, 6.

112. 'Abda Jadalī, ap. Astarābādī, 217.

113. Ibn 'Asākir, IV, 166 ; *Mawlā*, would mean there simply, in the celebrated phrase of the Prophet, " patronal *waṣī* of my clients."

at the saqīfa[114]. Salmān who has left some ḥadīths, *e.g.* " al-arwāḥ junūd mujannada..... " is acknowledged as one of the four first masters in *fiqh* at Kūfa (Tirmidhī, 629 and Bukhārī 531, in Sprenger, I, 442).

The mission of Salmān grows in importance, on the contrary, for the Imāmites : privileged councillor left by the Prophet by his will to 'Alī, he should teach the Muslims to accept 'Alī as the legitimate head, the Imām, secretly, by initiating the faithful ones into the rising sect, and publicly, by denouncing the perpetrated usurpation. He is one of the seven faithful protectors, with whom 'Alī will bury Fāṭima by night (Zurāra, died in 148 A. H.)[115], one of the Four *arkāns* ready to draw the sword (Hishām b. Ḥakam, died in 199 A. H.)[116], one of the Three who had actually drawn the sword (with) Miqdād and Zubair[117] ; the latter will betray, according to Zurāra. The first among them in stateliness concludes the Imāmite dogmatics (with the exception of Ibn Bashīr Asadī and Yūnus Yaqṭīnī who preferred Miqdād)[118] in the matter of these precursors of the asbāb al-Qāyim.

Such reclamation of justice with weapons in hand by solitary persons is not the deed noted to the credit of a single Shī'ite before Ḥujr (in 51 A. H.) or rather it was Yaḥya b. Umm at-Tawīl Thumālī Azdī who caused thus " to demonstrate the futuwwa " in 83 A. H.[119]. Thus the Imāmite history seems to have made an anachronism in portraying Salmān with weapons in hand.

Meditating on the mission of Salmān, the Ismā'ilites suppose as granted that the spirit of the exegesis (ta'wīl), which " opens for us the meaning of the Scriptures " is distinct from the spirit (Jibri'īl) who had dictated its text (tanzīl) to Muḥammad[120], that the former is superior to the latter[121], that it is the Qur'ānic *Rūḥ al-Amr*, a sort of divine emanation gradually realising all secret designs of God ; Salmān is one of its instruments, one of the instrumental causes (asbāb : cf. *Qur.* XXII. 15, etc.)[122] as much before the Prophet as before 'Alī. This Rūḥ, the Executor of divine decisions, explains its permanent norms to those whom it chooses as its instruments ; whereas the use of the tanzīl allows the fight only against the rebellion of the impious, the spirit of the exegesis enables to discern the hypocrisy (nifāq) of the perverse persons, the secret of the hearts, —to identify, in every generation, those who personify the unchangeable protagonists of the

114. IAH, I, 74, 132.

115. Kashī, 4.

116. Malatī, *Tanbīh*, ms. pers. 45.

117. Kashī, 88 : Shī'ite origin of the traditional surname, " *ḥawārī*."

118. Kashī, 7 ; Hillī protests there against it (N., 148).

119. Kashī, 82.

120. Shahrastānī, II, 25 ; Caetani, IX, 518 ('Ammār) ; Goldziher, *M. St.*, II, 112 (Jābir) ; cf. Malatī, 43.

121. Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, ch. IX ; Kulainī, *Kāfī*.

122. The word " sabab " in the primitive Shī'a is important : Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, I, 289 (where sabab = mumādī ; following Hishām b. Ḥakam, ap. Kashī, 170) from 81 A. H. onwards (A. S. Nawbakhtī, *Tanbīh*, ap. Ibn Bābawaih, *Ghaiba*, 56, l. 3, 54, l. 4, 53, l. 26 ; Nawbakhtī *Firaq*, p. 25, l. 7 ; cf. p. 84, l. 3).

human drama of the obedience to God, those who accept the legitimate Imām, and those who reject him, from cycle to cycle. This theory of the permanence of the historical plan, of the cyclical recurrence of the scriptural types (which Nawbakhtī thought to have been borrowed from Jābirīyan writings by the sect of the Ḥārithīyas before 127 A. H.)[123] made its appearance in 33 A. H., when Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Sūhān declared that the Imām, who was in the beginning, Ādam, ought to be recognised at present in 'Alī[124], -and before 100 A. H., when Mughīra asserted that the First Rebel, who was in the beginning Iblīs (before Ādam : *thus the Sujūd al Malāika is identified with Mīthāq*[125], the soul of men with the angels), was called during the life-time of 'Alī, 'Umar (the Second was Abū Bakr, the Third was 'Uthmān)[126] ; this necessitates that we fill it up by way of a parallelism by saying (the Isma'ilites did it after 150 A. H.) : the First Faithful One who was in the beginning Ruḥ al-Amr (identified or not with Jibri'il), was called during the life-time of 'Alī, Salmān (the Second was Miqdād and the Third was Abū Dharr)[127] ; thus from the beginning of the second century, the historical personality of Salmān was absorbed in the divine prototype which it had personified for a while, and which was henceforth named *Salsal*[128], or by its initial latter, the Sīn. It is, we believe, Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (died in 138 A. H.), who envisaged in all its force, at this moment, the mission of the *Sīn* : he did not identify it *de plano* with the sanctifying Rūḥ ; he united it with the latter gradually by a process of spiritual assumption, and thus he raised it towards deification, above the Imām, of whom he made a Pentade (of Five *Persons*) : Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain ; we recognise here the Five of the *Mubāhala*[129].

Thenceforth, Salmān obtained in the Shī'ite gnosis his final aspect. He is between Muḥammad and 'Alī the indispensible "missing link" ; and all the ingenuity of extremist theologians exerted itself to formulate reciprocal relations of the three spiritual prototypes corresponding to these three historical personalities : the *'Ain* (= 'Alī), the *Mīm* (= Muḥammad) and the *Sīn* (= Salmān).

It would be proper to note the specific action suitable to each of these three elements before studying their reactions according to the combinations of their imagined priorities.

Let us recall first of all that contrary to the accusations of the Sunnite heresiographers,—the Shī'ite extremist sect had never maintained that any one of these

123. Nawbakhtī, *l. c.*, 35, 31.

124. Ṭabarī, I, 2917-2919 (*cf. supra*).

125. The formula of *bai'a* of the 'Alīde conspirators bears "mīthāq Allāh" (*e. g.* for Zaīd in 120 A. H. : Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 672 a. ; cf. *Qur.* XLVIII 10).

126. Ash'arī, I, 7-10 ; Shahrastānī, II, 13-14.

127. Ibn al Jawzī, *Talbīs*, 114.

128. Salsal seems to have been formed on the word "silsila" of the *Qur.* LXIX, 32, put in the masculine gender so that the addition of the letters, S + L + S + L = 180 = S + L + M + N. Wiet, *C. I. A.* (Egypte), I, I (1929), p. 32. "The questions of Sin" are celebrated among the Nuṣairīs. Salmān is the Chain of the Qubbat as-Silsila in Jerusalem (used for the ordeal among the Druzes (Hamza, in Sacy, text No. XIII ; Bākūra, 8).

129. *Cf. infra.*

three archetypes could be God by essence ; for all the Ghulāṭs, God, absolutely ineffable, is unrecognizable in Himself. It is the question only of a deification by participation, the manner of participating differs according to the archetype preferred by the sect.

The *'Ain*, prototype of the Imām (Ādam to the Sujūd, 'Alī to Ghadīr), resides in the centre, immobile and silent (*Sāmit*), mysterious and imminent like the divine commandment; he presides over the universe in permanence, under the form generally unique, and sometimes quintuple of a Chief of the divine law. He is the sign (*ma'nā*)[130] which localises God in the centre of the Community, the enigmatical screen which reveals and betrays an invisible presence ; he is the permanent root of the call to the Imāmat, its divine and immortal germ, soon confounded with the plastic matter[131], the hereditary flesh of the race elected for the Imāmat (ahl al-iṣṭifa'īya ; Banū'l-Ṣād)[132], the germ which travels through generations carried from male to male. In order to die a good Muslim, it is necessary to recognise this germ and to love it in its intermittent apparitions which are periodical like the return of the Crescent ('awdat al-'urjūn), which alone regulates the canonical actions (ṣawm, ḥajj, 'idda, 'īlā')[133] ; and which is hailed like it (the crescent) by the talbīya and the tahlīl [134].

The *Mīm*, prototype of the Nabī (above all of Muḥammad), is mobile and enunciator (Nāṭiq), his public sermon (da'wa) promulgates victoriously the divine decisions. He denotes, therefore, and designates the personification (either single or fivefold) of the 'Ain ; he is the Name (Ism)[135] under which the Faithful invoke God ; just like the formula of science, which evokes the idea for the spirit (without intervening in its comprehension), the Mīm is a barrier of the circumvallation (ḥājiz), which must be passed, because it conceals.

The *Sīn*, prototype of the *asbāb*, supernatural bonds which can join the heaven and the earth (cf. *Qur.* XXII. 15),—specially of Salmān,—is the instrument of the initiation ; it draws towards divine counsels by persuasion, like the call (*nidā'*)[136]

130. The word appears in the Ja'farīyan texts : Mūsā Sawwāq (ap. ms. Paris 1450. fol. 128 b).

131. A. S. Nawbakhtī, *Tanbīh* (ap. Ibn Bābawaih, *Ghaiba*, 54, l. 2-11 ; 55, l. 22 : cf. *Fihr.*, 176, l. 24).

132. Adhanī, *Bākūra*, 64 ; *'aqida ḥalabīya*, 22 a. *Qur.* III, 30.

133. *Qur.* XXXVI, 39, and Adhanī, *Bākūra*, 80 ; Ibn Taimiya, *Majm. ras., kub.*, II, 157.

134. On the neomeny (hilāl) conceived as a sign of pardon and creative renovation note that among the Nuṣairis, Fāṭima is "lailat al-Fiṭr," and 'Alī "sahf" (S + H + F = 'Alī, according to Qummī cryptography "Kun-Ṣāla), Tabarānī, *Majm. a'yād*, 49 a. 56 a, 132a) ; cf. the Jewish Kippour ; under the Byzantine persecutions, the neomony according to the Talmud (rosh hashana, XXV) was announced by the words "David Melekh Israël hayy we qayyām "(Danon, *Études sabbatiennes*, 1910, p. 12). In Ḥallāj, the year FĀTIR (= 290 A. H.) is the year of the social renovation, just as it is among the Qarmaṭis ; and for his disciples, the year 309 (= Shīn + ṭā [Shaiṭān] inverted form of Ṭā Sīn : from which the title of the collection of his works is derived), in which he died, is the year of the apotheosis of love (Nūr Kāsirqī + 689 ; Ism. Ḥaqqī, *Rūh al-bayān*, II, 470), just as it is the year of the triumph of justice for the Fāṭimids (Ibn al Walīd, *Dāmigh*, II, 23-24 ; Shalmaghānī poses 309 + 40) ; because it is in the *Qur.* XVIII, 24, the year of the Awakening of the Seven Sleepers in the Cavern (*Ikhw.* IV. 107, 279).

135. The *ḥijāb al-Ism*, exoteric preaching of science (*'ilm*).

136. Tabaranī, *Majm a'yād*, 48.

of the mu'adhdhin, it recalls the prayer in the heart. It is the threshold (*bāb*), where the illuminating light passes through (*nūr shu'shā'ānī*), and where the believer joins the Presence; it realises the divine work; it insufflates the Spirit (*Rūḥ*), begetting the bodies and initiating the souls[137]; it is the power (*qudra*), which gives the life (*wujūd*).

The different conceptions of the divine action on the Muslim Community follow from this:

According to the Sīnīyas, it is the penetration (*ḥulūl*) of the Rūḥ, divine emanation inspiring the Sīn, and by it, illuminating, sanctifying, and elevating gradually up to the luminous and "angelic" state all faithful souls, even the 'Ain and the Mīm.

According to the 'Ainīyas, it is a miraculous occultation (*taghyīb*) of the person of the Imām, eliminated invisibly (and not transfigured) in order to represent (in a phantom-like manner) the supreme authority of God, the 'Ain; the 'Ain introduces, therefore, the creating locution of the Mīm in the immaterial diction of the Sīn, which suggest to him his orders for the initiated ones.

According to the Mīmīyas, it is the gradual explicitness, the growth, by its own force, of an Enunciator of the Law, the Mīm (materialisation of the Rūḥ), who impresses his own commandments in the pure receptivity of the 'Ain, and causes the universe to be organised by subaltern personifications (= Sīn).

Now, let us give in brief the enumeration of the sects; indicating the relations of priority between the 'Ain, the Mīm and the Sīn, by means of mathematical signs $=$, $>$, and $<$: and thus abbreviating the three types: *A*, *M*, *S*: (from the fifteen combinations, which are theoretically possible, of priority, posteriority and equality only the following six seem to have been considered:

1-3. 'AINĪYA (they are the first developed, deriving the genealogic predestination of the 'Alīides, from the theory of the Abrāhāmic lineage of the Prophet; already the Sab'īyas; and the Kaisānīyas who seem to put: imām (Ibn al-Ḥanafīya)[138] > wakīl (= Mukhtār) > sādin (= Ḥawshab Bursumī). —);

According to Mufaḍḍal Ju'fī (died in about 170 A. H.)[139] ( ): *A* (= *rabb*, *quintuple*) > *M* (= *nabī*) > *S* (= rusūl). —; what the Ulyā'īyas aggravate by

137. Ibn Taimīya, II, 198; Adhanī, 17. Cf. Luqmān, understood as the initiator (*Qur.*, XXXI, 12). At the ḥajj, Salmān is symbolised by the mash'ar ḥarām kindled on the night of Muzdalifa (Adhanī, *Bāk.* 31). Salmān causes also the lives to cease = Ibn Muljam (Adhanī, *l. c.* 18 = Ibn Ḥazm, IV, 188).

138. According to the ps. Jābir (*Kitab al-khamsīn*, comm. P. Kraus), the Kaisānīyas are said to have placed: *ṣāmit* (= Ibn al-Ḥanafiya, imām during the life-time of 'Alī) > *nāṭiq* (= 'Alī, simple nabī).

139. Shahrastanī, II, 17. Mufaḍḍal and his son Muḥammad are considered, among the extremists, to have had the rank of bāb = Sīn. On one of them, there are the following verses of Abū'l-Ghamr Thumālī Dikī (about 190 A. H.: ms. Paris 1682, fol. 5 b seq.): "I have seen the Cock of the Throne in the human shape; I have seen my Lord sit (at the hearth of) the tribe Ju'fī" (Ibn Mākūlā, ms. Esc. 1646, fol. 58 b, 1647, fol. 308 b; ms. Berl. Wetzst. II, 334, fol. 158 b; Prof. Massignon is indebted to his colleagues Antuña and Mittwoch for the communication of the exact text, which is mutilated in Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 405 b). The Sīn is in fact the Cock of the Throne (Adhanī, *Bāk.*, 40 and 13; ms. Paris 1450, fol. 127 b), because he was the first to salute the Imām with the tahlīl and "anta Anta": Ibn Sinān, ap. ms. Paris 1450, fol. 129 b. Therefore, *mu'adhdhin* (cf. p. 31, note 148).

doubting the loyalty of the Mīm and that of the Sīn (Jibri'īl is mistaken, according to Ibn Jumhūr Ghurābī; or Salmān has betrayed, according to Bashshār,— and Shalmaghānī who puts S = Mikā'īl)[140].

According to the Mukhammisas (sharī'ī, Garmī)[141]: *A* = *M* (*quintuple*) > *S* (*quintuple*); according to the 'Alī-Ilāhīs[142]: *A* (= *rabb*) > *S* = *M* (*quintuple*): Salmān is the first, and Muḥammad is the third of the five persons of the second of the seven cycles).

4. SĪNĪYA[143]: according to Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (died in 138 A. H.)[144]: *S* (becomes *malak*, then *ilāh*) > *M* (= *nabī*) = *A* (= *imām*: *quintuple*: or *septuple*, according to Mu'ammar, who, in order to make the Five of the Mubāhala homogeneous, adds to them their two direct ancestors, Abū Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh).[145]—The Ḥallājian vocabulary has Sīnīya terms, and places *S* > *M* (ap. Akhb. 33 *bis*)[146].

5. MĪMĪYA (the tendency is already outlined in Mughīra and Mustanīr; and it becomes precise in 141 A. H. among the Rāwandīyas[147] who place *M* (= *rabb*: Muḥammad, then 'Abbās....and Manṣūr) *A* (= Uthmān b. Nahīk) > *S* (Ḥaitham b. Mu'āwiya = Jibri'īl). —): according to Kumailīyas: *S* = succession of "apotropean" saints, *abdāl*[148]; —then the Ismā'īlites of Maimūn Qaddāḥ: *M* (= *Sābiq*, *'Amūd*) > *A* (= *Tālī*, *Asās*) > *S* (= the three *ḥudūds*: who are eight among the Druzes). Mas'ūdī mentions the Shī'ite Mīmīyas. Beginning with Tustarī, several Sunnite mystics were Mīmīyas.[149].

The sixth combination, *A* = *M* = *S*, which the Nuṣairīs call Iblīsian[150], because it tends to identify the three heterogeneous functions and to make of them the three asmā' ḥusnā (in place of the five asmā' ḥusnā of the Five Witnesses of

140. Khashīsh, in Malatī, *Tanbīh*, 296; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII, 101, 178; and *infra*, App. I).

141. Ash'arī, I, 15; Astarābādī, 225.

142. Minorski, ap. *RMM*, XL, 24.

143. Cf. The Quranic rôle of Khaḍir before Moses and his wasī, (Qummī, Tafsīr, 399), and of Asaph before Salomon.

144. The date fixed by Kashī. 191.

145. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 40 and A. H. Rādī, *Zīna*, 909. We see that the Seven (asbābs or *wusafā* according to Ṭabarī II, 1619, then imāms) were simultaneous before being successive (Ismā'īlite system), exactly like the Twelve (nujabā', then du'āt; then imāms: Shahrastanī, II, 28).

146. *Recueil*, 241, note 2. The legend of the lion of Arjan was transferred from Salmān to Ḥallāj (N, 28; *Passion*, 418).

147. Ṭabarī, s. a. 141 H.; Maqdisī, *Bad'*, V, 138.

148. Where Salmān succeeds the fallen Bilāl (Jāḥiz. XI *Rasāil*, 98; *bayaw*, II, 98, l. 15).

149. Ja'far b. Manṣūr *Ta'wīl az-Zakāt*, ms. Leyden, 1971, p. 97; *Recueil*, 103. The Persian Bāb identified himself with Salmān, with five secundary mazāhir: Muḥammad (in himself), 'Alī (in Muḥammad 'Alī Mazandarānī), Fāṭima (in Qurrat al-'Ain), and Ḥusain (in Bahā'ullāh).

150. Ms. Paris 1450, fol. 44 b, 82 a; heresy condemned with its inverse, that of Shanabūyé (= 'Umar, according to Khasībī, *Hidāya*, 13: dualist, because it divides the Ism with the Ma'na; cf. also ms. Paris 1450, fol. 158 b.).

the Mubāhala),—has still left traces among the Nuṣairīs[151] ; and there are reasons to think that it goes back to 'Umar b. al-Furāt (died in 203 A. H.).

CONCLUSIONS

The number of facts collected here[152] furnishes us with clear presumptions in favour of the historiocity of Salmān. The efflorescence of legends about his conversion and the theological transfiguration of his rôle among Shī'ite extremists have sprung up from it after a period of incubation and normal reflection.

Can we press this question still further? We cannot but risk hypotheses on the question of the personal influence which he must have exercised : part taken in the fixing of certain rites, istibrā'[153], takhmīs of the ṣalāt[154] ; —in the practice, in tafsīr, of the ta'wīl shakhṣī, which we find in Ibn Mas'ūd and Miqdād[155]. Let us note that as long as the Qur'ān was not collected, the verses did not survive in the memory but as associated with such and such a venerated or detested personality. The Qur'ānic Isrā'īl was a group of examples, verified in their applications to the Prophet, and to his friends and enemies ; it is in connection with *Qur.* XXVI. 84, that the rite of the taṣlīya[156], so pregnant with Shī'ite legitimism (kamā ṣallaita 'alā Ibrāhīm wa Āli hi : Āl is not Umma)[157] was developed. And during the years 1-10 A. H., at Madīna, before the materialization of the ḥajj round about the Ka'ba, it was probably before the Prophet that the tahlīl was pronounced, perhaps even round about him that they danced the actual Bedouin tahwīs, which were reserved later on for the Mekkaian ṭawāf. Salmān formed, in fact, at least a qārī', Qarṭha' Dabbī (died in 32 A. H.)[158].

It is not forbidden to think that the Prophet had, besides his great political collaborators and so many interested and doubtful allies, nearer to his heart sure friendships than the diplomatic intrigues of his harem ; and that after and above Khadīja and Zaid, came Ḥudhaifa and Salmān ; that close to the vigorous faith of Muḥammad in his Abrāhāmic lineage and in his vocation as adviser (nadhīr) there

151. Formula *'MS* (cf. *Qur.* XLII, 1 and 17) : cf. the *Sefer Yetsira*?

152. P. 10, ll. 6-11 ; p. 15, l. 18-p. 16, l. 26 and p. 21, l. 7 ; cf. p. 39, note 197.

153. Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 437-439. It is curious that the Khārijits admit Salmān as a rāwī of this rite (Jaiṭālī, *Qanāṭir al-khairāt*, I, 326).

154. The putting in relation of the Five of the Mubāhala to the five daily awqāt aṣ-ṣalāt (= asmā ḥusna—thus according to Freytag, with a *dhamma*—of the Ghulāts) dates at least from Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb ; the same list among the Isḥāqīyas (KH, VI, 380, l. 18) and the Nuṣairīs (Adhanī, *Bāk.*, 12 ; cf. ms. Paris, 5188, fol. 81 a, and Kashī, 93, 95, on the 51 rak'as ; comp. Abū'l-Ma'ālī, 162, Guyard, 115, Dussaud, 87). The number 5 plays a great rôle among the Manichaeans.

155. Ibn al-Biṭrīq, 178 ; Ṭabarī, I, 1300. Following this ta'wīl shakhṣī ,copied from that of the Prophet (whence an explanation of the disconcerting adage " as—sunna lā tunsakh bi'l-Qur'ān "), Yūnus Yaqṭīnī qualified even the imām Riḍā as " ṭāghūt," when he concluded a pact with the usurper (Astarābādī, 380) (cf. the attempt not Khārijite, but *ghalī* upon the life of Ḥasan at Madā'in : Nawb. 21).

156. Ibn Taimīya, *Minhāj*, IV, 65-69; Suyūṭī, *Al-Tashbīh fi't taslīya* (ms. Taimūr) ; AN. 131.

157. Cf. *Qur.* III, 30 ; and Nurmāshīrī, ap. Astarābādī, 285.

158. Ṭabarī, I, 113, 2897.

was the desire of the justice of an ascetic, who had come to await anxiously the victory of a Qā'im[159], of a Judge guided by the Spirit, who would finally extirpate the simony and penetrate the hearts of hypocrites.

On a memorable day, the Shī'ite tradition asserts, Salmān attended a Mubāhala (the 4th of Shawwāl of the year 10 A. H. = 15-1. 631 A. D.)[160] : at Madina, in the cemetery of al-Baqī' near the "red dune"[161], Muḥammad, his face turned to the Christian envoys[162] of the Belḥārith of Najrān[163], summoned them to a judgment of God (*Qur.* III. 54). For this ordeal, the only manifestation of his complete sincerity, Muḥammad constituted his own " relations," the " Five whom he covered with his mantle", his two-grandsons, his daughter and his son-in-law, hostages of the faith in his prophetic mission. Henceforth, for certain friends of the Prophet, the affection which they bore to the Five transformed itself and became a love of devotion[164] ; they revered the 'Alīides, because their bodily parentage, more or less intimate,[165] was transfigured by solemn judiciary substitution ; putting in them all their hope of justice when the Prophet died ; others, opposed to them, hated the 'Alīides, transferring to them their vendetta the thā'r[166] of their heathen dead killed at Badr on the order of Muḥammad by the hand of 'Alī. At the time of the premature disappearance of the Prophet from the scene, this *a'ẓam muṣība*[167] of the old funerary epitaphs, Salmān must have

159. *Qur.* III, 16.

160. The mubāhala,the ancient Shī'ite festival (Bīrūnī), gave rise to a special rite with the Shī'ite claim, serving to provoke among the shī'a, surely, the avowal : it breaks the taqiya (Kulainī, *Kāfī*, n. p. ; Astarābādī, 47). (= 'īd at-tajallī). Bērūnī (*Chron.* 332) gives " 4th Shawwāl " ; liturgically it is 24th Dhū'l-Ḥijja " among the Shī'as. A complete study of " *la Mubāhala* " is to be found in the Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, 1943, Paris, pp. 5-25, where the text of Shahrastānī and Ṭabarānī are translated, in which Salmān appears as the Divine Arbiter of the ordeal.

161. Allusion to Moses (kathīb aḥmar : L. A. Mayer, *Quart. Dept. Antiq. Palestine*, II, 29) ; like the ghamāma (= cloud of Sīnai) : " when a white and pure cloud thunders in the sky, the Sabā'īyas make the mubāhala, prostrate themselves and say : " 'Alī has passed above us in the sky " (Malaṭī, *l. c.*, 31-32 ; cf. Ibn Qutaiba, *'Uyun*, II, 283). All this " mosaism " does not seem to be of Rabbinic source.

162. We know that the Najrānians, intimidated rather than convinced, renounced the ordeals and signed a muṣālaha, which made them tributary, while remaining Christians. This convention, which is the first "Capitulation " of the Christian community to Islām, before those of Aila and Adhruh (Caetani, II, 350-353 ; Lammens, *Fat.*, 97, note 3 ; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* ; Agh. 2 X, 136-137, Majlisī, *Biḥār* IX, 49-52)

163. This tribe of Madhḥij, was allied by hilf to that of Hamdān ; we perceive a connection of this hilf with ardent Shī'ism of the Hamdāns by submitting themselves to 'Alī without fight during the life-time of the Prophet, which they professed thenceforth without faltering ; either that they took part in the convention of the mubāhala, or rather the refusal of the ordeal by the Belḥāriths (and the undated murder of Rauḥ b. Zurāra Hārithī, ap. Hamdānī, *Jazīra*, s. v. had determined the rupture of the hilf and the Islamisation of the Hamdāns.

164. We have seen above the connection of the Five with the five prayers : cf. also the method of the Qalandarīyas for the mental evocation of the Five (Sanūsī, *Salsabīl*, 32, 160). Before a devotion of this order, the objections of Lammens (ap. *Moawia*, 36) do not stand.

165. It is clear that Muḥammad did not take 'Alī as "brother" at the time of the muwākhā at Madina (Sarasin has shown, according to IS, III, 14, that 'Alī had at that time Sahl b. Ḥunaif as brother). But it is still more evident that Muḥammad who had taken to his house the son of him to whom he owed so much, the " yatīm Abī Ṭālib " (Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 312 ; comp. *Qur.* XCIII, 6, and XC, 15), was for him more than a brother, even before he gave him Fāṭima.

166. IAH, III, 283 (and I, 362-369) ; Maqrīzī, *Niẓā'*, 12-20.

167. Or raziya : Wiet, *Répert. chron. épigr. arabe*, t. I, p. 52 (year 186 A. H.),79 (year 199 A. H.) 107 (year 205 A. H.) etc.; and p. 260 (year 234 A. H.) ; comp. with the ḥadīth of Ibn 'Abbās (IAH, I, 133) and the verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit (Maqdisī, *Bad'*. V, 69) and the festival of the Arba'ā mā yadūr.

made his convictions precise and declared, inaugurating in 'Irāq, among the 'Abd al-Qais the legitimist movement long before Abū Ḏharr and 'Ammār[168]. 'Alī became slowly conscious of the tragic destiny which this judiciary substitution of the Prophet reserved for him in the Muslim Community; he did not take an attitude of the chief by divine right, Naẓẓām had noticed it[169], but only in face of the Khārijite rebels, who killed him in the year of the Mīm, in the year 40 A. H. Still more knowingly, his second son and successor, Ḥusain, assumed all this destiny, leaving (Mecca?) and braving death "for justice" at Karbalā'[170] in the year 60 A. H., the year of the Sīn[171].

Salmān had died before them, but in Islām, this desire for temporary justice which he had sown, and which became Shī'ism, would be transformed also in a thirst for eternal life. Shī'ite devotedness to the legitimate cause and to the expected Mahdī, and Ṣūfism of mystical inclinations, are to be found in their very origin in Salmān. The celebrated words of Imām Ja'far, which became later among the Sunnites a ḥadīth, is better applicable to none other than to this foreigner come into the fold of Islām from afar: "badā'l-Islām *gharībañ*, fasaya'ūd gharībañ, kamā badā; faṭūbā li'l-ghurabā min Ummati Muḥammad"[172]: "Islām has begun (its existence) in exile, driven away from its country to (Madīna), and it will be driven out again from its country (to Kūfa; or to Jerusalem, its first and its last qibla), as it had begun; and the happy ones among the members of the Community of Muḥammad are those who will be driven out of their country (in order to find again the Qāyim)"[173]: the Shī'te call for temporal heroism,—which is for spiritual heroism, as the Ṣūfī Muḥāsibī (died in 243 A. H.) comments, thus: "and happy are those among the Community of Muḥammad who will be isolated in order to offer the cult to none other than to God alone."[174].

V

Appendix I

UNPUBLISHED TEXTS ON THE EXTREMIST SECT CALLED "SALMĀNĪYA" OR "SĪNĪYA."[174bis]

I. Abū Ḥātim Rāzī (about 322 A. H. 934 A. D.): *Kitāb az-zīna*, chap. on the Shī'ite sects, fol. 907:

Ghulāt (extremist sects): 1. The *Salmānīyas*: they are those who attribute to Salmān al-Fārisī either the rank of the prophet (*nubūwwa*), or the divine nature (*ilāhīya*)[175], which is impious. They divide themselves into two groups, one denying that Salmān could have had successors, the other admitting that he had successors[176]. (Those who consider him as prophet) say that the verse *Qur.* XLIII. 44. "ask those (*was'al man*) of our envoys.....sent before thee" applies to Salmān[177]: that it should only be read instead of "*sal man*" Salmān, the name which can be written according to the usage of the Qur'ān by joining the mīm with the nūn, without inserting an alif between them; thus we have "Salman" (without an ^), just as "Luqman"[178] "'Uthman" (without an ^). (And those who deify him) have forced the veneration for Salmān so far as to place him above[179] the Amīr of the faithful (= 'Alī). —2. The *Khaṭṭābīyas*..."

II. Formula of the consecration of Salmān according to the Khaṭṭābīya and Nāwūsīya sects:

1. Short recension, of Anbasa (probably the Nāwūsī of this name: ap. Kashī, *Kitāb. ma'rifat akhbār ar-rijāl*, ed. Bombay, p. 188):

(Ja'far, placing his hand on the chest of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb[180], said to him: "Remember (*'ih*) and do not forget; thou knowest what is hidden. Here thou hast become the casket of my science and the resting-place of my secret, I have confided to thee our living and our dead."

2. Long recension of the Nuṣairī Khaṣībī (the title of his work is kept secret: ap. Ṭabarsī Nūrī, *Nafas ar-Raḥmān*, lith. Téhéran 1285 A. H., chap. V. p. 53 (without pagination) —):

(Ja'far said to Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb: O, Muḥammad, I salute thee, just as my grandfather); the Envoy of God saluted Salmān, when he approached the latter at the house of Umm Aiman; he welcomed him, made him sit beside himself, and said to him: "O, Salmān, thou art become the casket of my science and the mine of my secret, the code of that which I enjoin and that which I forbid; thou art (henceforth) the corrector of the faithful who follow our rules, thou art, by God! the Threshold (al-Bāb) where the science of the exegesis and of the letter resides, the interior of the secret and the secret of the secret. Thou has been blest in thy

168. In the year 21 A. H., according to Jāḥiẓ (IAH, I, 123).
169. His inspired look at Nahrawān (IAH, II, 48).
170. Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā, IV, 118.
171. Or of Ṣād (Maghribin computation; then *Sīn* = 300).
172. Ibn Zainab Nu'mānī, *Ghaiba*, 174-175; Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā, IV, 279; Ibn al-Walīd, *Dāmigh*, ms. H. II, 502. Ḥanbalite monograph of Ibn Rajab, mpr. ap. Wahhābite *Majmu'* of Ibn Rumaih, Cairo (Manār), 311-328. Sālimī (Khārijī), 649; Ibn Qutaiba, mukhtalif, 139; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilya*, X. 190; Sha'rānī, *Laṭā'if al-Minan*, marg. t 2, p. 201.
173. The dūr al-hijra of Ismā'īlism; of the land of Hamdān (Glaser, *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 1884); cf. Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā, IV, 191, l. 16 (*hijrat ilā buyūt nāṭiqa*); IAH, III, 215-216.
174. Ap. *Recueil*, 19 (cf. Massignon, *Essai*, 217).
174bis. The original Arabic text is published by Prof. Abdurrahman Badawi in his translation of the present study in *Shakhsiyāt qaliqa fi'l-Islām*, Cairo, 1946, pp. 47-50.

175. Cf. Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, 13.
176. The same classification as for the Imāmite sects, which were splitted on the death of each imām, into *wāqifīya* and *qitti'īya*.
177. In fact, this exegesis is old and is connected with that of *Qur.* XVI, 105 (al-'ajamī = Salmān); but it is not based on that grammatical absurdity; it writes "Salman" without ^ (circumflex), in order that this name contains none but luminous (*nūrānīya*) consonants, S + L + M + N, whose addition in the numerical abjad reckoning, 180, is exactly like S + L + S + L = 180 (Salsal is the gnostic name of Salmān). This equation, invented about 138 A. H., shows that at that date at Kūfa the *alif of prolongation* was not generalised in writing.
178. The old connection between the types of Luqmān and Salmān does not depend only on orthography (cf. *supra* p. 30, note 137), cf. Guys, 108 = Sacy, 2.142.
179. They are the *Sīnīyas*, who were opposed to the *'Ainīyas*.
180. Cf. the investiture of Jābir by Bāqir according to the Nuṣairīs (*Kitāb Majmū' al-A'yād*, fol. 3 b; cf. the Prophet at the mi'rāj, ap. Ibn 'Asākir. V, 85; Ibn al—Jawzī, *Daf'*, 26).

beginning and in thy end, from without and from within, alive and dead "[181]. This is what the Prophet had said to Salmān (and that which I tell you, O, Muḥammad)."

III. The rôle of Salmān before the Five Persons, according to Bashshār Sha'īrī (died about 180 A. H.)[182] : ap. Kashī, *l. c.* 253 : according to a source not quoted, perhaps Murāzim Madā'inī, died in about 210 A. H. ; reproduced ap. A. J. Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār* ; A. 'Alī Rāzī, *Tawḍīḥ*, Astarābādī, *Manhāj*, 68 :

"The doctrine of Bashshār is that of the 'Ulyā'iyas ; it teaches that 'Alī is the Lord, that he appeared in the Alawīya Hāshimite form, and that he made his servant and Envoy appear in the Muḥammadian form. He (Bashshār) is unanimous with the disciple of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb about four (of the Five deified Persons = *ashkhāṣ*) : 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain, Salām (peace) be on them ! He specifies that the divine special import of the three of them, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, is nothing but an apparent equivocation, but that in reality there is only one person, that of 'Alī, because it has the priority to the Imāmat and the first rank in the whole group (of the four). But he ousts the person of Muḥammad, because, he says, Muḥammad is none other than the servant and 'Alī is the Lord ; he puts Muḥammad in the place in which the Mukhammisas[183] put Salmān, and makes Salmān[184] none but the envoy of Muḥammad. Bashshār is unanimous with the 'Ulyā'iyas on the subject of the liberty of morals (?), on the negation of the divine attributes and on the transmigration of souls. The Mukhammisas gave to these sectarians the name " 'Ulyā'iya," because as they say, Bashshār, as soon as he denied the divine authority of Muḥammad, by transferring it to 'Alī, and by making Muḥammad the servant of 'Alī, and as soon as he suppressed the mission (risāla) of Salmān, found himself transformed into a bird of the sea[185] of the species of *'ulyā* : from which their name : 'Ulyā'iya is derived."

IV. Criticism of the doctrine of the Sīnīyas[186] : ap. pseudo-Jābir Azdī (between 290 and 330 A. H.), *Kitāb al-Mājid*, ms. Paris 5909 : communicated by P. Kraus, who edited it : apud *Jābir*, Cairo, 1354 A. H., p. 118, ll. 8-11, p. 120, 11-2-5.

(fol. 68 a) ".....This Nāṭiq[187], having become fit to receive the notice (= the suggestions) of the Ṣāmit (= 'Ain)[188], finds himself, before him, placed in the same situation as the 'Ainīyas assign to the Sīn with reference to the Mīm,—and which the Sīnīyas assign to the 'Ain with reference to the Sīn, and not that which the Sīnīyas assign to the 'Ain with reference to the Mīm (which is inferior to the 'Ain).....

(fol. 68 b.) " .....The Jābirīyas stating the visible portion of the obscurity (ẓulma) which contains the Mīm, declare that the visible and multiple parts of light (nūr) included in the Mīm are not of its substance, because no simple substance, in its nature, can have two contrary operations. It is, therefore, the Sīn from which this light emanates, taking into consideration the slight portion of its obscurity, which is in it ; its only part of obscurity is inactive (not vocalised) and thoroughly latent, under an aspect which evokes the first among the lights, which is the hamza forming the consonants,[189] the real original 'Ain, the first element of the invention and of the noble and virtuous expression (of ideas).

(fol. 69 a) ".....As regards Sīn, whose position the Nāṭiq occupies with reference to the Mīm (according to the system of the 'Ainīyas), taking into consideration the duration of its intimity and proximity with the 'Ain, it is not comparable, according to the Jābirīyas, to this above-mentioned Nātiq (in activity) ; the obscure consonant of the Sīn is medial ,latent, quiescent, absolutely inert, in whatever state and in whatever position the Sīn may be, it has, therefore, only one genus, the 'ujmī[190].....'"

V. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Najāshī (died in 450 A. H.), *Fihrist* (ap. Astarābādī, *Manhāj*, 234) :

" 'Alī b. 'Abbās Jarādhīnī, who was accused of extremism, is the author of a *Kitab al-mamdūḥīn wa'l-madhmūmīn* (which proves his heterodoxy).....of the *Kitāb al-ādāb wa'l-muruwwāt*, and of the *Kitāb ar-radd 'alā's-Salmānīya, ṭāifa min al-Ghulāt* (= Refutation of the Salmānīya sect of the extremists). These books are known through Ḥusain b. 'Abd Allāh (= Ibn al-Ghaḍāirī, died in 411 A. H.), through the intermediary of Ibn Abī Rāfi', Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb (= Kulainī of Raiy, died in 328 A. H.) and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭāyī of Raiy (died in about 285 A. H.)"[191].

181. The parallelism with " the living and the dead " of the first recension makes us think of a common source.

182. The rāwī of Mufaḍḍal Ju'fī according to Khaṣībī, *Hidāya*, 343.

183. According to Ibn al Ghadāirī (*Raad 'ala'l-ghulāt*, ap. Astarābādī, 225), the takhmīs consists in teaching that Salmān Fārisī, Miqdād, 'Ammār, Abū Ḏharr and 'Amr b. Umaiya Ḍamrī are put in charge of the order of the universe.

184. If he identifies him with Jibri'il, it is the Ghurābīya doctrine.

185. Cf. Abū' l-Jārūd, transformed in *surhūb*, a marine monster (Kashī, 150).

186. I use this expression in order to render the paraphrase " *ashāb as-Sīn* " of the text. Cf. Salsalīya, ap. *Kitāb ikhrāj mā fi'l quwwa ilal-fi'l*, of the same author. Sīn is one of the gnostic names of Salmān : its only ẓulmānī consonant is a median and quiescent alif of prolongation; whereas the obscure consonant of the Mīm (gnostic name of Muḥammad), the final dāl is vocalised.

187. This Nāṭiq is the " mājid " whose prerogatives are analysed in this treatise.

188. 'Ain is the gnostic name of 'Alī.

189. On the active *hamza* opposed to the inert *alif*, see *Kitāb at-taṣrīf* (fol. 129 b), *ar-raḥma*, and *as-sirr al-maknūn* : of the same author: and Ibn 'Arabī, *Fut.*, I, 121.

190. *'Ujmī* means in Arabic " unpronouncable " (an allusion to the Persian origin *'ajamī* of Salmān), = which ought to be marked with the diacritical points (but the alif has not got any). It is perhaps a trait borrowed from the wāqifīya Salmānīyas mentioned above : Salmān Fārisī is not known to have had successors.

The 'Aynīya doctrine of the Nuṣairīs teaches, on the contrary : " the spirit of the Mīm comes from the light of the Essence (dhāt = here the 'Ain), it is from the purest light of his body (created: of the Mīm) that the spirit of the Sīn was created " (Nashshābī, *Munāẓara*, ms. Paris 1450, fol. 144 b): the Sīnīya doctrine is thus qualified as *ilḥād* (*id.* fol. 99a).

191. Thus this Jarādhīnī died about 240 A. H.; this fact places this sect of the Sīnīyas in the first third of the third century of the Hijra.

Appendix II

INDICATIONS OF SOURCES

The first extensive bibliography on Salmān appeared in Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 417-418; cf. *Chronographia*, I, 383); it was carried on further for Sunnism rather than for Shī'ism; Caetani has only partially dealt with Salmān in these pages.

Classification of sources

I. "Oral" and direct informants (*rāwīs*)

The list of thirty-five names, drawn by Mizzi (ap. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ms. Paris 2089, fol. 296 b) is to be lengthened by ten others. Such a list is, besides, an illusion; for a given ḥadīth, the name of the first rāwī is to be considered as authentic only if the isnād is sincere; now, the forgers, conversant with the rules of formal criticism, have so well arranged their isnāds that we should be on our guard, first of all, against correct and classical isnāds going back to the first "patented" rāw (e.g. Abū Huraira for the Prophet; Zādhān or Nahdī for Salmān), and fix our attention, on the contrary, on the aberrant rāwīs, introduced by oversight in the isnād; and when the isnād is controlled in its last limits, we should stop, by again going up the chain, at the name of the first rāwī, about whom it is known that he wrote, (in spite of the juridic fiction of the oral testimony) a selection, a kitāb (known, or disclosed as such by non-faked convergences of secondary chains, or as source of mursal ḥadīth). It is proceeding in this way that I have isolated the names of rāwīs retained in this study.—I could, thus, separate various recensions of the "prologue," and for the remainder of the life, have a glympse of the following classification of the sources:

a. Before the year 80 A. H.—rāwīs grouped according to tribal affinities, *e.g.* group 'Abd al-Qais-Ḥamrā, mentioned above, pp. 20-21—comprising Tharwān b. Milḥān (rāwī of 'Ammār and Ḥudhaifa; names inverted in Ibn Sa'd)[192], Abū Qudāma Nu'mān Bakrī and Abū'l-Ẓabyān, sources of Simāk b. Ḥarb; perhaps also Abū 'Imrān Jawnī and Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit.

b. After the year 80 A. H.; rāwīs grouped according to sects; *e.g.*:

1. Ancient Kaisānīyas, rallied to Murji'sm: isnād Abū't-Ṭufail Amir b. Wāthila Laithī[193] > Salm b. Salt 'Abdī[194] > 'Ubaid Muktib; isnād Abū 'Uthmān Nahdī[195]; isnād Abū Sa'īd Khudrī > Abū Salama, son of Ibn 'Awf > Ṭāriq b. Shihāb Aḥmasī[196], which conceals perhaps the borrowings from an old apocrypha, the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Waṣī*;

2. Zaidites: isnād Abū Waqqās > Suddi and Tha'labī > Sharīk (died in 177 A. H.); isnād Ibn Buraida > Abū Rābi'a > Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ (died in 169 A. H.); isnād Zādhān Kindī > 'Atā, or Abū Hāshim, or Ibn Rustum > Qais b. Rabī' (died in 165 A. H.); isnād of the Āl Abī Qurra Kindī from which the Sunnites have also borrowed; isnād 'Abd Allāh b. Mulail > Kuthaiyir Nawwā and Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa[197].

3. For the Imāmite sects, the points of joining the "rearranged" isnāds are very difficult to trace. It can only be said that after 37 A. H., a legitimist group was formed at Kūfa around Ṣa'ṣa'a, with Aṣbagh, Ḥujr, Ḥabba 'Uranī, Ḥārith Ḥamdānī[198] and above all Rushaid Ḥajarī, who spread apocalyptic ḥadīths, which were collected in writing (perhaps in *Ṣaḥīfat al-Waṣī*).

2. Written sources

a. Apocryphas attributed to 'Alī:

1. *Ṣaḥīfat al-Waṣī*, of which 'Umāra 'Abdī (died in 134 A. H.)[199] possessed a copy, and of which Ibn Sabā (= Ibn Wahb)[200] is said to have propagated a tendential recension.

2. *Khuṭab 'Alī* (a collection, perhaps identical with the preceding[201], and which contains old texts, even in the edition of the sharīf Rāḍī)[202].

195. Twelve years with him (IS, VII-1, 69). Friend of Mukhtār (Ṭabarī II, 240; *Iṣāba*, III, 98).

196. "Which was full of details about Salmān" (IS, VI, 43; *Iṣāba* No. 4226); cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, III, 44.

197. DH, I, 445. Mizzī, ms. Paris 2091, 4 b. IS, VI 124. IS, VI, 102. Mizzī, *l. c.* 4 b.

198. DH, I, 339; KH, VIII, 274-277.

199. DH, II, 246 (cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, III, 73).

200. It is Levi della Vida who established, according to Balādhurī (ms. Paris 6068, fol. 540 a and not 542a), this important identification (*RSO*, VI, 1913, 495).

201. The literary problem of the *Khuṭab 'Alī* is not only that of the sources of their edition by Sharīf ar-Raḍī, about 403 A. H. ("Nahj al-balāgha") ,who must have profited by their refashioning by Abū'l-'Ainā M. Ibn Khallād (died in 280 A. H.); besides pieces of oratorical ethics, retained in the editions of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥakam Fazārī (died in about 190 A. H.; Kantūrī 206), in that of Abu 'Ubaida (Jāḥiz, *Bayān*, II, 24-27) and in that of Madā'inī (*Fihr.* 102), they contain passages of political and theological import. The Zaidite edition of Ibn 'Uqda (died in 333 A. H.), said to go back to Zaid Juhanī (died in 84 A. H.) *via* Abū Mikhnaf (Ṭūsī, 148; cf. Tha'labī *in* Ibn Sa'd, VI, 233) and Kashī (p. 224) relates that imām Zaid had studied the *Khuṭab 'Alī*. There was undoubtedly a collection anterior to the schism into sects between 113 and 150 A. H., as these Khuṭabs are preserved also by the Ismā'ilites (éd. Qāḍī Nu'mān: cf. Ivanow, *Guide*, No. 72=73 according to the corr. Kraus, ap. *REI*, 1932, 487) and are quoted in the Gébérian corpus and among the Nuṣairīs ("ana muhlik 'Ad wa Thamūd," the words which Ṣūlī accuses Ḥallāj of plegiarising, occurs in ms. Paris, 5188, fol. 94; cf. 'Arīb, 105). In particular, the khuṭba on the Qāyim (Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, II, 534) is dated before 130 A. H., because it contains the word "'asīb" used in a symbolic sense which the poet Zurāra (died in 148 A. H.; Jāḥiz, *Hayaw*, VII, 39) and Mi'dān Samīṭī (died after 169 A. H.; Jāḥiz, *l.c.* II, 98) supposes to be well-known. The Khuṭabs 'Alī were, therefore, since that date one of the favourite (*livres de chevet* of the Shī'ites (cf. Kashī, 138).

202. According to the apocryphal texts attributed to 'Alī, it should be determined which place is reserved for Salmān in the Bāqirīyan writings (of one or the other Jābir; texts said to be of B. Ḥarām; fragm. ap. Hārithīya sects and the Nuṣairīs: DH, III, 191; Nawb. 31), and the Ja'farīyan writings (of the Nāwūsīya, Khaṭṭābīya, and Mufaḍḍalīya sects).

192. Mizzī, ms. Paris, 2091, fol. 2 b; IS, VI, 85, 151.

193. IS, VI, 42; Balādhurī, ms. Paris 6068, fol. 694 b, on his daughter-in-law; Baghdādī, *Farq.* 36.

194. AN, I, 50; name suppressed ap. IS, IV-1, 63, and Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 444.

III. Works in European languages

Neither d'Herbelot (1697 ; p. 786 of the edition of 1776), nor Caussin de Perceval, nor Sprenger have pursued further the study of the life of Salmān.

1892. Ahmed bey Agaeff, ap. IX. Int. Or. Congress, London, II, 508-509.

1899. R. Dussaud, ap. his thesis on the Nuṣayrīs.

1909 and 1913. Cl. Huart, Selmān du Fārs (I, ap. *Mél. Derenbourg*, 297-310 ; II. *Annuaire École des Hautes Études*, pp. 1-16).

1913. H. Thorning, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis des isl. Vereinswesens* (Türk. Bibl., XVI), pp. 33-37, 85-90.

1918. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, II, 1470 ; VI, 162 ; VIII, 399-419.

1920. Sarre und Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrat-und Tigrisgebiet*, Bd. II, 58 seq., 262 note.

1922. J. Horovitz, Selmān al Fārisī (ap. *Der Islam*, XII, 178-183).

1922. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, I, 383.

1922. V. Ivanow, Ismailitica (ap. *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, VIII, 1-76), p. 4, 11-12, 27, 33-35, 40, 56, 64, 65 (notes 56, 59), 70, 74, 75.

1925. G. Levi della Vida, ap. *Enz. Isl.*, Bd. V, 124-125.

1929. A. Zéki Pacha, Le tombeau de Salmān Fārsī, ap. *Bull. Institut d'Égypte*, XI, 7-27.

1932. V. Ivanow, Notes sur l'Ummu'l kitāb, ap. *R. E. I.*, 419-482[209].

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209. ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NAMES

AN = Abū Nu'aim, *Dhikr akhb. Iṣf.* éd. Dedering (*supra*).
DH = Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, éd. Cairo.
Fihr = Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, éd. Flügel.
IAH = Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (*supra*).
IS = *Ṭabaqāt* d'Ibn Sa'd, éd. Sachau.
KH = *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, of 'al-Khaṭīb, éd. Cairo.
N = *Nafas ar-Raḥmān*, of Ḥusain b. M. Taqī Ṭabarsī Nūrī (*supra*).
YQ = Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, éd. Wüstenfeld.

GLOSSARY*

abdāl, plur. of *badl* " substitute," one of the degrees of the Ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints, who, unknowingly of the masses, participate by means of their powerful influence in the preservation of the arrangement of the universe.
abnā', Persian settlers ; plural of *ibn* " son ".
ahl al-a'rāf, (*Qur.* 7.44) the people of the *a'rāf*, i.e. the boundary between paradise and hell, a kind of purgatory, which according to Sa'dī appears a hell to the blessed and a heaven to the damned. *a'rāf* is a term used by Ṣufī mystics to express a condition of the mind and soul when meditating on the existence of God in all things.
ahl al-bait, the people of the House, a term used in *Qur. 33*,33 and in the hadīth for Muḥammad's household.
ahl al-iṣṭifa'īya, the elected or chosen people.
ahl al-qubūr, inhabitants of the tombs, i.e. the dead.
ahl aṣ-ṣuffa, the term was an appellation applied to certain persons who were the guests of al-Islām (i.e. supported by the charity of the Muslims), consisting of poor refugees and houseless men, who passed the night in the *ṣuffa* of the mosque of the Prophet, which was a covered place, an appertenance of the mosque, roofed over with palm sticks ; thither they resorted for lodging, sometimes they were few, sometimes they were many, up to ninety-three.
aḥlāf, confederates, companions swearing mutual fidelity ; tribal alliances, confederacies.
aḥmas, hard, unwavering.
'ajamī, a Persian, a foreigner.
āl, a term used for the offspring of Muḥammad.
'amūd, a pillar.
anṣār, " the helpers," used of the citizens of Madīna who received and assisted the prophet after his flight from Mecca.
'aql awwal, natural genius or instinct ; the throne of God ; the Holy Spirit ; Muḥammad ; Gabriel.
'arafāt, the Mountain of Recognition, the place where the pilgrims stay on the ninth day of the pilgrimage and recite the midday and afternoon prayers and hear the *khuṭba*.
arkān, sing. *rukn*. columns, pillars ; fundamentals, essentials.
asās, foundation ; the word has a special denotation in the system of the Ismā'īlites.
asāwira, plur. of *suwār* " a rider."
asbāb, instrumental causes.
ashkhās, sing. *shakhs*, persons ; individuals ; people.
'asīb, the exterior part of the foot, the instep.
aṣḥāb aṣ-ṣuffa, sing. *ṣaḥābī*, " the Sitters on the Bench " of the temple of Mecca.
asmā' ḥusnā, beautiful names ; plur. of *ism* ; especially, the five, Muḥammad, Fāṭima, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain.
'atā, an endowment.
'awārif, sing. *'ārifa*, known, public, notorious things ; kindnesses ; acknowledgments (as of salutations, etc.).
'Awf 'Arabī, wild wandering Arabs.
'Awdat al-'urjūn, the return of the Crescent.
a'zam maṣība, the greatest calamity, misfortune.
al-bāb, a threshold ; la Porte.
Babel=Bābilī, " the Porte of God " ; i.e. Babylon.
badr, the place of a battle between the Meccans and the Muslims which took place on the 17th or the 19th Ramadhān 2 A. H. and which ended in the rout of the Meccans.
bai'at, inauguration ; salutation or acknowledging the authority of a great man ; homage, fealty.
baqī' al-gharqad, the cemetery of Madīna ; it was so-called because formerly it was abounding in large *gharqad* trees.
baraka, plur. *barakāt*, blessings, abundance, prosperity.
Belhariṯh or *Banu'l-Hariṯh b. Ka'b*.
bemīr, die (thou) ; imper. 2. sing. of *mordan*, to die (Persian).
buyūtāt, household ; *bait*, plur. *buyūt* " a house."
dahāqīn, also *dahaqān*, plur. of *dahqān*, the chief of a Persian village ; the chief man of the village ; the prince or head of the farmers (among Persians).

*The glossary is based on L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*, Paris 1938, T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, and F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, London 1930.